

The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift

EDITED BY
HAROLD WILLIAMS

VOLUME V
1737-1745

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*Lord Castle-Durrow to Swift*Castle Durrow Jan: 11th: 1736[-7].S^r

I received the Honour of your Letter¹ with that Pleasure, which they have always given me; if I have deferred acknowledging longer than usual, I should not be at a Loss to make an Excuse, if I could be so vain as to imagine you required any. Virtue forbids Us to continue in Debt, and Gratitude obliges us at least to own Favours, too large for Us to repay; therefore I must write, rather than reproach myself, and blush at having neglected it, when I wait upon you; tho you may retort, Blushes sh^d. proceed rather from the Pen, than from silence, which pleads a modest Diffidence, that often obtains Pardon.

I am delighted with the Sketch of your *Imperium*, and beg I may be presented to your first Minister S^r Robert, your Puddings I have been acquainted with these 40. years, they are the best sweet thing I ever eat, the Oeconomy of your table is delicious, a Little and perfectly good is the greatest Treat, and that Elegance in sorting Company puts Me in Mind of Corellis² Orcastro, in forming which He excell'd Mankind; in this Respect no Man ever judged worse than Ld. Can: Midleton, his table the neatest served of any I have seen in Dublin, which to be sure was entirely owing to his Lady.³ you really surprize me in saying you know not where to get a Dinner in the whole Town, Dublin is famous for Vanity this Way, and I think the mistaken Luxury of some of our Grandees, and feasting those, who come to laugh at us from the other side of the Water, have done Us as much Prejudice as most of our Follies. Not any Ld. Lieutenant has done more Honour in Magnificence than our present Viceroy,⁴ He is an old Intimate of my youth, and has always distinguished me with Affection and Friendship, I trust mine are no less sincere for

¹ That of 24 Dec. 1736.

² This remark suggests that when young Lord Castle-Durrow had made the grand tour. Corelli, 1653-1713, although he had visited Germany and Paris as a violinist, had never been in England.

³ Lord Midleton was married three times. Lord Castle-Durrow must be referring to the third wife, Anne, daughter of Sir John Trevor, sometime Master of the Rolls in England. At this time of writing Lord Midleton had been dead over eight years.

⁴ Dorset entertained on a lavish scale, especially on the King's birthday. See *Irish Historical Portraits 1660-1860*, National Portrait Gallery, 1969, p. 37.

Him. I have Joy in hearing his Virtues celebrated, I wish He had gratified you in your Request, those He has done most for I dare affirm love Him least, It is Pity there is any Allay in so beneficent a Temper, but if a Friend can be viewed with an impartial Eye, Faults he has none, and if any Failings, they are grafted in a Pusillanimity, which sinks Him into Complaisance for Men who neither love nor esteem Him, & has prevented Him buoying Up against their impotent Threats in Raising his Friends. He is a most amiable Man, has many good Qualities, and wants but one more to make Him really a great Man.

If you can have any Commands to England for so insignificant a Fellow as I am, pray prepare them against the beginning of next month, at my Arrival in Town I shall send a Message in form for Audience, but I beg to see you in your private Capacity, not in your Princely Authority, for as both your Ministry & Senate are full, & that I can't hope to be employed in either, I fear your Revenue is too small to grant me a Pension, and as I am not fit for Business, perhaps you will not allow me a fit Object for One, which Charity only prompts you to bestow, thus without any View of your Highness's Favour I am independent, & wth. sincere Esteem y^r. most obed^t. humble Serv^t | Castle Durrow

Endorsement by Swift: Jan^y. 27. 1736 | L^d Castledurrow

Endorsement by George Faulkner: This Indorsement is and the three | following Letters are D^r Swift's Hand | George Faulkner | July 4. 1770 AG

4806

Swift to Lady Elizabeth Germain

[29 January 1736-7]

Mad^m¹

I ow your Ladyship the acknowledgement of a Lett^r I have long received, relating to a Request I made my Lord Duke, I now dis-

¹ This letter, a reply to that of Lady Betty Germain of 2 Nov., closed the correspondence between them. In its composition Swift took extraordinary pains, making two drafts, both of which have been preserved, one dated the 26th, the other the 29th of Jan. The latter is in a larger hand and better written than the former. In the endorsement, further, Swift states the latter to be the 'Copy of Lett^r' sent.

29 January 1736-7

Swift to Lady Elizabeth Germain

miss you Madam for ever from your office of being a *Go-between* upon any affair I might have with His Grace . . I will never more trouble him either with my Visits or applications. His Business in this Kingdom is to make himself easy. His Lessons are all prescribed him from Court, and he is sure at a very cheap rate to have a Majority of most corrupt Slaves and Ideots at his Devotion. The Happyness of this Kingdom is of no more consequence to him than it would be to the great Mogol, while the very few honest or moderate men of the Whig Party lament the chose he makes of Persons for civil Employ^{ts} or Church preferments.

I will now repeat for the last time that I never made him a request out of any Views of my own, but entirely after consulting his own Honor, and the Desires of all good Men, who were as loyal as His Grace could wish and had no other fault than that of modestly standing up for preserving some poor Remaind^r in the Constitution of Church and State.

I had long Experience while I was in the World of the Difficultyes that great Men lay under in the Points of Promises and Employ^{ts}. But, a plain honest English Farmer, when he invites his Neighbor to a Christning, if a Friend happen to come late, will take care to lock up a Scrap for him in the Cupboard.

Henceforth I shall onely grieve in Silence when I hear of Employ^{ts} disposed to the discontent of his Graces best Friends in this Kingdom; and the rather because I do not know a more agreeable Person in Conversation, one more easy, or of a better tast with a great variety of Knowledge, than the Duke of Dorset.

I am extreemly afflicted to hear that Your Ladyships want of Health hath driven you to the Bath. The same Cause hath hindred me from sooner acknowledging Your Letter.¹ But, I am at a Time of Life to expect hourly a great deal worse; for, I have neither Flesh nor Spirit left, while You Madam, I hope and believe will enjoy happy Years in employing those Virtues which Heaven bestowed you for the delight of your Friends, the comfort of the distressed,

¹ As Ball observes: 'Judging by letters from Lord Orrery imagination had some part in Swift's inability to carry on correspondence. Writing on 23 December his Lordship says: "The Noon was pass'd with the Dean of St. Patrick's, who grows younger as his Years increase. . . . The Dean enjoys more Health and Vivacity this winter than he has felt for some Years past." Again on 18 January he says: "The Dean feasted his Clergy last week with Ladies, Music, Meat and Wine. As a Musician I gain'd Admittance to join Chorus with *Away with Cuzzoni, Away with Faustina*"' (Orrery Papers, i. 183, 192).

Swift to Lady Elizabeth Germain

29 January 1736-7

and the universall esteem of all who are wise or Virtuuous | I desire to present my most humble Service to &c and am &c. Janr. 29th. 1736

Endorsed by Swift: Jan^r. 29th 1736 | Copy of Lett^r to | Ldy. E. G—r—m

Faulkner 1741

Swift to Alexander Pope

Feb. 9, [1736-7]¹

I cannot properly call you my best friend, because I have not left another who deserves the name, such a havock have Time, Death, Exile and Oblivion made. Perhaps you would have fewer complaints of my ill health and lowness of spirits, if they were not some excuse for my delay of writing even to you. It is perfectly right what you say of the indifference in common friends, whether we are sick or well, happy or miserable. The very maid-servants in a family have the same notion: I have heard them often say, Oh, I'm very sick, if any body car'd for it! I am vexed when my visitors come with the compliment usual here, Mr. Dean I hope you are very well. My popularity that you mention is wholly confined to the common people, who are more constant than those we miscall their betters. I walk the streets, and so do my lower friends, from whom and from whom alone, I have a thousand hats and blessings upon old scores, which those we call the gentry have forgot. But I have not the love, or hardly the civility, of any one man in power or station: and I can boast that I neither visit or am acquainted with any Lord Temporal or Spiritual in the whole kingdom; nor am able to do the least good office to the most deserving man, except what I can dispose of in my own Cathedral upon a vacancy. What hath sunk my spirits more than even years and sickness, is reflecting on the most execrable Corruptions that run through every branch of publick management.

¹ In Pope's editions of 1740-2 and in Faulkner 1741, vii. 255, this letter was both misplaced (before that of 7 Feb. 1735-6) and misdated 1735-6. The mistaken dating was followed by Elwin-Courthope, vii. 339-41. But it clearly answers Pope's letter of 30 Dec.; and it contains a reference to the Duke of Dorset's successor, who was appointed early in 1736-7. Furthermore, the translation of the lines *Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes . . .*, Hor. *Ep.* II. ii (Pope, ll. 72-73), introduces a question, for the entire imitation of that Epistle was not published till Apr. 1737. See Sherburn, iv. 55 n.

9 February 1736-7

Swift to Alexander Pope

I heartily thank you for those lines translated, *Singula de nobis anni*, &c. You have put them in a strong and admirable light; but however I am so partial, as to be more delighted with those which are to do me the greatest honour I shall ever receive from posterity, and will outweigh the malignity of ten thousand enemies. I never saw them before, by which it is plain that the letter you sent me miscarried.—I do not doubt that you have choice of new acquaintance, and some of them may be deserving: For youth is the season of virtue: Corruptions grow with years, and I believe the oldest rogue in England is the greatest. You have years enough before you to watch whether these new acquaintance will keep their Virtue, when they leave you and go into the world; how long will their spirit of independency last against the temptations of future Ministers, and future Kings.—As to the new Lord Lieutenant,¹ I never knew any of the family; so that I shall not be able to get any job done by him for any deserving friend.

Hawkesworth 1766

Swift to John Temple

Dublin, [Feb.] 1736-7

Sir,²

The letter which I had the favour to receive from you, I read to your cousin Mrs. *Dingley*, who lodges in my neighbourhood.³ She was very well pleased to hear of your welfare, but a little mortified that you did not mention or enquire after her. She is quite sunk with years and unwieldiness; as well as a very scanty support. I sometimes make her a small present, as my abilities can reach; for I do not find her nearest relations consider her in the least.

¹ William, third Duke of Devonshire, a steady supporter of Walpole.

² Evidently about this time Swift presented Temple with a portrait of his aunt Lady Giffard. The gift had been made through the Temples' man of business Hatch, and was possibly due to the kindness Temple had shown to Mrs. Barber. In her *Life and Correspondence of Martha Lady Giffard* Miss Longe reproduced the portrait, which was painted by Sir Peter Lely. Hawkesworth spells the name 'Lilly's'.

³ Miss Longe believed that Swift gave the portrait on condition that Temple assisted Rebecca Dingley; but this letter contributes no supporting evidence to the belief.

Jervas told me that your aunt's picture is in Sir *Peter Lely's* best manner, and the drapery all in the same hand. I shall think myself very well paid for it, if you will be so good as to order some marks of your favour to Mrs. *Dingley*. I do not mean a pension, but a small sum to put her for once out of debt; and if I live any time, I shall see that she keep herself clear of the world; for she is a woman of as much piety and discretion as I have known.

I am sorry to have been so much a stranger to the state of your family. I know nothing of your lady or what children you have, or any other circumstances; neither do I find that Mr. *Hatch* can inform me in any one point. I very much approve of your keeping up your family-house at *Moor-park*. I have heard it is very much changed for the better, as well as the gardens. The tree on which I carved those words, *factura nepotibus umbram*, is one of those elms that stand in the hollow ground just before the house: but I suppose the letters are widened and grown shapeless by time.

I know nothing more of your brother, than that he hath an *Irish* title (I should be sorry to see you with such a feather) and that some reason or other drew us into a correspondence, which was very rough.¹ But I have forgot what was the quarrel.

This letter goes by my Lord *Castledurrow*, who is a gentleman of very good sense and wit. I suspect, by taking his son with him, that he designs to see us no more.² I desire to present my most humble service to your Lady with hearty thanks of her remembrance of me. | I am, Sir, your most humble faithful servant, | J. Swift.

4806

Swift to William Pulteney

[7 March 1736-7]

SR3

I must begin by assuring you that I did never intend to engage you in a settled Correspondence with so useless a man as I now am, and,

¹ See Palmerston to Swift, 15 Jan. 1725-6.

² *Pue's Occurrences* announces that Lord Castle-Durrow and his son intended to sail for England on the 10th.

³ Two texts of this letter have survived: (1) a draft in Swift's hand in the British Museum, 4806, ff. 185-6; (2) not in Swift's hand, and with many variants,

7 March 1736-7

Swift to William Pulteney

still more so by the dayly increase of ill health and old age; and yet I confess that the high Esteem I preserve for your publick and private Virtues urgeth me on to retain some little place in your Memory for the short time I may expect to live. That I no sooner acknowledged the honor of your Letter is owing to y^r Civility which might have compelled you to write while you were engaged in defending the Libertys of your Country with more than an old Roman Spirit, which hath reached this obscure enslaved Kingdom, so far as to have been the constant Subject of Discourse and of Praise among the whole few of what unprostituted people here remain among us. I did not receive the Letter you mention from Bath: and yet, I have imagined for some Months past, that the Medlers of the Post offices here and in London, have grown weary of their Curiosity, by finding the little satisfaction it gave them. I agree heartily in your Opinion of Physicians, I have esteemed many of them as learned ingenious men, but I never received the least benefit from their Advice or Prescriptions And poor D^r Arbuthnot was the onely man of the Faculty who seemed to understand my case but could not remedy it. But, to conquer five Physicians all eminent in their way was a victory that Alexander and Cesar could never pretend to. I desire that my Prescription of living may be published, which you design to follow, for the benefit of Mankind, which however I do not value a Rush, nor the animal it self as it now acts, neither will I ever value my self as a Philanthropus, because it is now a Creature (taking a vast Majority) that I hate more than a Toad, a Viper, a Wasp, a Stoat a Fox, or any other that you will please to add. Since the date of y^r Letter, we understand, there is another Duke to govern here.¹ M^r Stopford was with me last night, he is as well provided for, and to his own satisfaction as any private Clergyman. He engaged [me] to present his best Respects and Acknowledgments to you. Your modesty in refusing to take a Motto goes too far. The sentence is not a Boast, because it is every man's duty in moralls and Religion . . . Indeed we differ here from what you have been told of the D. of D.'s having given great satisfaction the last time he was with us. I writ to a Lady in London, his Grace's near Relation and intimate, that she would no more continue the Office of a Go-between (as she calld her self, betwixt the Duke and me, because

in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
The text is here printed from Swift's autograph.

¹ The Duke of Devonshire.

Swift to William Pulteney

7 March 1736-7

I never designed to attend him again;¹ and yet I allow him to be as agreeable a Person in Conversation as I have almost any where met. I sent my Letter to that Lady under a Cover addressed to the Duke, and in it I made many complaints against some proceedings which I suppose he hath seen. I never made him one Request for my self, and if I spoke for another, he was always upon his Guard, which was but twice, and for trifles, but failed in both. The Father of our Friend in France may outlive the son; for I would venture a wager that if you pick out twenty of the oldest men in England nineteen of them have been the most worthless fellows in the Kingdom . . . You tell me with great kindness as well as Gravity, that I ought this spring to make a Trip to Eng^{ld}, and yr motive is admirable, that shifting the Scene was of great Service to you, and therefore it may be so to me: I answer as An academick, Nego Consequentiam; and besides, Comparisons are odious. You are what the French call *plein de vie*, As you are much younger, so I am a dozen years older than my age makes me, by infirmitys of Mind and Body, to which I add the Perpetuall detestation of all publick Persons and Affairs in both Kingdoms.—I spread the Story of Mrs. Mapp² while it was new to us. Therè was something humorous in it throughout, that pleased every Body here. Will you engage for Your Friend Carteret to [oppose] any Step towards Arbitrary Power: he hath promised me under a Penalty that he will continue firm, and yet, some Reports I hear of him, have a little disconcerted me . . . Learning and good sense he hath to a great degree. If the Love of Riches and Power do not over-ballance.

Pray God long continue the gifts he hath bestowed you to be chief Support of Liberty to your Country; and let all the People say Amen. I am with the truest Respect and highest Esteem | Sr | Yr &c
Dublin | Mar. 7th. 1736

Endorsed by Swift: Copy to M^r | Pl—tny. March | 1736

¹ Cf. Swift's letter to Lady Betty Germain, 29 Jan.

² Pulteney to Swift, 21 Dec. 1736, and footnote on the story of Mrs. Mapp 'a famous she Bonesetter'.

*Lord Orrery to Swift*Corke. March 15:th: 1736/37Dear Sir¹

I receiv'd your Commands by Falkner to write to you, but what can I say? The Scene of Corke is ever the same: dull, insipid, and void of all Amusement: His sacred Majesty was not under greater difficulty to find out Diversions at Helvoetsluys, than I am here: The Butchers are as greasy, The Quakers as formal, & the Presbyterians as holy & full of the Lord as usual: All Things are in statu quo: even the Hogs and Piggs gruntle in the same cadence as of yore. Unfurnish'd with variety, and drooping under the natural dullness of the Place, Materials for a Letter are as hard to be found, as Money, Sense, Honesty, or Truth. But I'll write on; Ogilby, Blackmore, and my Lord Grimstone have done the same before me.²

I have not yett been upon the Change, but am told that you are the Idol of the Court of Aldermen: They have sent you Your Freedom; The most learned of them having read a dreadful Account in Littleton's Dictionary³ of Pandora's Gold Box, It was unanimously agreed not to venture so valuable a present in so dangerous a metal. Had these sage Counsellors consider'd that Pandora was a woman (w^{ch} perhaps Mr Littleton forgetts to mention) They would have seen that the ensuing Evils arose from the Sex, and not from the Ore.—But I shall speak with more certainty of these Affairs when I have taken my Seat among the Greybeards.

My Letters from England speak of great Combustions there: Absalom continues a Rebel to Royal David. The Achitophels of the Age are numerous, and high Spirit'd:⁴ The Influence of the Comett

¹ Orrery had only just left Dublin, where he had spent the winter and seen much of Swift. Writing two days before to Baron Wainwright, he says: 'As it is Sunday night, I cannot help fancying You are in the blue Room at the Deanery, and if I could transport my Body as easily as my Thoughts, I should be of the Party: but alas! my Doom is to be but seldom where my Wishes are' (*Orrery Papers*, i. 203).—Ball.

² John Ogilby, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Viscount Grimston were bywords for vain prolixity.

³ The reference is to Adam Littleton's Latin dictionary, first published in 1678, several times running to further editions; and later enlarged by others.

⁴ The enmity between the King and the Prince of Wales came to a climax a few months later on the birth of the Prince's eldest child.

Lord Orrery to Swift

15 March 1736/37

seems to have strange Effects already. In the mean time here live We, Drones of Corke, wrapt up in our own Filth; procul a Jove, et procul a Fulmine. Heaven and all good Stars protect you, for lett the Thunder burst where it will, so that you are safe, and unsing'd, who cares whether Persia submitts its Government to the renowned Kouli Can, or that beardless unexperienc'd Youth, the Sophi? at least the Vicar of Bray,¹ and I shall certainly be contented. | Orrery.

Address: To | The Rev^d Dr Swift Dean of | St Patricks | at | Dublin | Free Orrery

Postmark: 18 MR

Endorsed by Swift: Earl of Orrery | Mar. 18th. 1736 | answered— | Ap^r— and E Or—y. Rx Mar. 18th 1736 | Mrs Whiteway presents her most &c.

4806

Lord Orrery to Swift

Corke. March 18 1736-37.

Dear Sir

This is occasion'd by a Letter I have receiv'd from Mr Pope of which I send You a Copy in my own Hand, not caring to trust the Original to the Accidents of the Post. I likewise send you part of a fifth Volume of Curl's Thefts,² in which you'l find two Letters to You (One from Mr Pope the Other from Lord Bolingbroke) just publish'd with an impudent Preface by Curl. You see, Curl like his Freind the Devil glides thro' all Key holes, and thrusts himself into the most private Cabinets.³

I am much concern'd to find that Mr Pope is still uneasy about his Letters: but I hope a Letter I sent him from Dublin (which he has not yett receiv'd) has remov'd all Anxiety of that Kind. In the last discourse I had with You on this Topic, You remember you told me, He should have his Letters, and I lost no Time in letting him know your Resolution. God forbid that any more Papers belonging to

¹ Ball suggests that Orrery may be referring to an incumbent of the Bray near Dublin and not to the proverbial Vicar of Bray; but this seems to be unlikely.

² Curll's volume was already in circulation.

³ In the transcript of his letter, now preserved at Harvard, Orrery adds at the end of this paragraph: 'He boasts of more Letters from Ireland, but I hope his veracity in that Point is as little to be depended upon as in all Others.' Apart from this added sentence the letterbook transcript varies from the original in the British Museum in no more than small slips.—Sherburn.

18 March 1736-37

Lord Orrery to Swift

either of You especially such sacred Papers as your familiar Letters should fall into the Hands of Knaves & Fools, The profest Enemies of You both in particular, and of all honest and worthy Men in general. I have said so much on this Subject in the late happy hours You allow'd me to pass with You at the Deanery that there is little Occasion for adding more upon It at present: especially as you'll find in Mr Pope's Letter to Me a Strength of Argument that seems irresistible. As I have thoughts of going to England in June, You may depend upon a safe Carriage of any Papers You think fitt to send Him. I should look upon myself particularly fortunate to deliver to him those Letters he seems so justly desirous of. I entreat You, Give me that Pleasure. It will be a happy reflexion to me, in the latest Hours of my Life, which whether long or short, shall be constantly spent in endeavoring to do what may be acceptable to the virtuous & the wise.¹ I am, dear Sir, | Your very faithfull | & oblig'd humble Servant | Orrery.

Address: To | The Revd Doctor Swift Dean of St Patrick's | at the Deanery House | Dublin.

Frank: Free | Orrery

Endorsement (in Swift's hand): E. Orrery | Mar—21st 1736 | answered

[*Enclosure*]

Pierpont Morgan Library²

Alexander Pope to the Earl of Orrery

4 March 1736/7

My Lord,—After having condoled several times with you on your own Illness & that of our Friends, I now claim some share myself, for I have been down with a Fever which yet confines me to my

¹ At the bottom of the page, where this letter ends, Orrery has written 'Turn over', and the two pages following are occupied with his transcript of Pope's letter of 4 Mar. Probably the reason for not transcribing the last paragraph and a half for Swift, apart from its irrelevance, is that there was not convenient space on the paper.—Sherburn.

² The transcript of this letter sent by Orrery with his letter to Swift of 18 Mar. 1736-7 has hitherto been printed from Add. MS. 4806, ff. 189, 90, in the British Museum. Orrery omitted from his transcript the last paragraph and a half. The letter was first printed in full, from the original in the Pierpont Morgan Library, by Professor Sherburn, iv. 58-60.

chamber. Just before, I wrote a Letter to the Dean, full of my Heart, & among other things press'd him (which I must acquaint your Lordship, I had done twice before for near a twelvemonth past) to secure me against that Rascal Printer by returning me My Letters; which (if he valued so much) I promist to send him Copies of, merely that the Originals might never fall into such ill hands, & therby a hundred Particulars be at his mercy which would expose me to the Misconstruction of many, the Malice of some, & the Censure perhaps of the whole world.¹ A fresh Incident made me press this again; which I inclose to show you, & that you may show him. The Man's Declaration that he had these *two Letters of the Deans* from *Your Side the Water*, with *several others* yet lying by,² (which I cannot doubt the truth of because I never had a Copy of either) is surely a Just Cause for my Request. Yet the Dean, answering *Every other Point* of my Letter with the utmost Expressions of Kindness, is silent upon this, and the *third time* silent. I begin to fear he has alre dy lent them out of his hands; and in whatever hands, while they are Irish hands, allow me My Lord to say they are in dangerous hands. Weak Admirers are as bad as malicious Enemies, & operate in these cases alike, to an authors disparagement or Uneasiness. I think this I made the Dean so just, so necessary a Request, that I beg your Lordship to second it by showing him what I write.—I told him, as soon as I found myself obligd to publish an Edition of Letters to my great sorrow, that I wish'd to make use of some of these, nor did I think Any Part of my Correspondencies would do me greater honour, & be a really a³ greater pleasure to me, than what might preserve the Memory how well we lov'd one another. I find the Dean was not quite of the same Opinion, or he would not, I think, have denyd this. I wish, some of those sort of people always

¹ Sherburn suggests that in some letters to Swift Pope may have dropped hints about the political cast which worried him.

² In his prefatory 'To my Subscribers *encore*' in *Mr. Pope's Literary Correspondence*, vol. v, Curll says: 'Beside, what is here presented to You, I have Several other very valuable Originals in my Custody, which, with these, were Transmitted to me from Ireland.' Remarks like this, current as well in Curll's newspaper advertisements, naturally alarmed Pope. Curll was lying, but Pope could not be sure of that. This letter by Pope, barring some tactful flattery for the Dean, is a straightforward plea for the return of his letters so that he might publish them as a monument of friendship. Swift, to whom Orrery forwarded the letter, saw it as such, and agreed, finally, that Pope might have the letters. The letters of Mar. to July that passed between Swift, Orrery, and Pope tell the story.—Sherburn.

³ *Sic*.

4 March 1736/7

Alexander Pope to the Earl of Orrery

about a Great Man in Wit, as well as about a great Man in Power, have not an Eye to some little Interest in getting the Whole of these into their own possession. I'll venture however to say, They would not add more Credit to the Deans Memory by their Management of them, than I by Mine: And if, as I have a great deal of Affection for him, I have with it *Some Judgment* at least, I presume My Conduct herein might be better confided in.

Indeed his Silence is so remarkable, it surprizes me. I hope in God it is not to be attributed to what he complains of, a Want of Memory: I would rather suffer from any other cause than what would be so unhappy to him. My sincere Love for this most valuable, indeed Incomparable Man, will accompany him thro Life, & pursue his memory were I to live a hundred lives, as many as his Works will live, which are absolutely Original, unequalld, unexampled. His Humanity, his Charity, his Condescention, his Candour are equal to his Wit, & require as good and true a Taste to be equally valued. When all this must dye (this last I mean.) I would have gladly been the Recorder of so great a part of it, as shines in his Letters to me, & of which my own are but so many acknowledgments.—But perhaps before this reaches your hands My Cares may be over, & Mr Curl & evry body else may say & lye of me as they will; The Dean, old as he is, may have the task to defend me¹—You'l pardon my Lord the very bad hand I write, when indeed my head is held up with difficulty Yet even in a fever I can't forget to answer anything yu ask That Letter of the Bishop's was not writ to me²—

I was truly grievd for my Lord Orkney, he was always distinguishingly civil to me, but the last Summer came to see me, & wrote me a very friendly Invitation to accompany him to the Bath, in which Letter & Conversations he opend a great deal of his mind to me. Adieu my worthy Lord. I will obey the directions, If I do well; it will be April or May before the books can be sent. I can't write more, but my Mind is full of acknowledgments to you. Your concerning yourself so much about this Book of Letters has made me

¹ The letter, as hitherto printed, ended at this point.

² The allusion is to a dissertation by Atterbury, *Antonius Musa's Character, represented by Virgil, in the Character of Iapsis*, first published in 1741. It is to be found in his *Epistolary Correspondence* (ed. John Nichols), i (1783), 329-71. It was addressed to Dr. John Freind.

Alexander Pope to the Earl of Orrery

4 March 1736/7

trouble you with this Remonstrance to our dear Friend the Dean;
tho I am very unable to write so much. I am constantly | My Lord. |
Your most faithfull | obliged humble Servant | A. Pope.

March 4. 1736

Endorsement: Mr Pope. March 4. 1736-7.

Forster 566

William Richardson to Swift

Summerseat near Colrain. 18 March 1736

Reverend Sir

A Salmon that weighs 27 pounds, the finest I took this year, will wait on you next Wednesday Morning by a Carryer paid for leaving it at your House—this is the first opportunity of sending any to Dublin this season—I mention the Weight, these Carryers being some times capable of changing Fish sent by them.

Mr Faulkner has sent me the Irish Editions of some of Mr Popes Works,¹ and the Translation of Rollin's History; if it will be an Amusement to you, and that you chuse to read it in the French, I will get him to send the original.

Sir, if your Fame as an Author, if your Works, w^{ch} the more I study the more admiration, & rapture I read them with, if your character as a Friend made me, before I was known to you, ambitious of the Honour of your Company, I am, if possible more so since. At the same time, I have not been without my Doubts as to the Propriety of a Man of Business, whose conversation has been for the most part among such, and who pretends but to plain sense, & and (*sic*) an honest Meaning, inviting the greatest Genius that perhaps a thousand years have produced, cultivated with all the Helps of Art, and that has lived among the Great in all Respects,² . . . Place without other ornament than Nature has bestowed upon it: However the Consideration of your having condescended to spend some time with Persons that love you from whose Conversation you wou'd receive no great Entertainment; and my earnest Desire to embrace the Dean

¹ This would be the three volume 12mo edition of Pope's *Works* issued in Dublin, 'by and for G. Faulkner in Essex-street; A. Bradley and T. Moore, Booksellers in Dame-street. M DCC XXXVI.' Griffith, no. 433.

² Paper torn. The missing words were, presumably, 'to a'.

18 March 1736

William Richardson to Swift

of St Patricks here, but above all the strong Perswasion I am under that it will conduce to your Health determined me to beg that Favour of You; and now to remind you of your Promise. If I did not know that you may comand what Fare is most likely to conduce to your Health; and what else you can expect in the Countrey to make you easie, excepting the Article of Conversation, (wherein it will be my Buisiness only to hear) no Gratification of my own coud occasion my entreating your Company. | I am, Reverend Sir, | Your most obliged, | & Most Obedient Servant, | W^m. Richardson¹

I beg you will make my best | Compliments acceptable to M^{rs} | Whiteway, and acquaint her that | I say it will be dangerous for you | to make too free with Salmon, if you | admit it to your Table

Endorsed by Swift: Mar. 21. 1736— | M^r Richardson from | the North—with
a | great Salmon | To answer

Berkeley's Literary Relics 1789

Swift to ——— Gibson

Mar. 23. 1736[-7]

Mr Gibson,

I desire you will give my hearty thanks to Mr Richardson for the fine present he hath made me; and I thank you for your care in sending it me in so good a condition. I have invited several friends to dine upon it with me to-morrow, when we will drink his health. He hath done every thing in the genteelest manner, and I am much obliged to him. I am your friend and servant, | J. Swift.

For Mr Gibson.

Faulkner 1741

Alexander Pope to Swift

March 23, 1736-7.

Tho' you were never to write to me, yet what you desired in your last, that I would write often to you, would be a very easy task:²

¹ In a note appended to this letter Bishop Percy states that, alluding to his place of residence, the writer was known as the Duke of Somerset, cf. p. 84, n. 2.

² Pope refers here to Swift's letter of 2 Dec. in which he declares himself

For every day I talk with you, and of you, in my heart; and I need only set down what that is thinking of. The nearer I find myself verging to that period of life which is to be labour and sorrow, the more I prop myself upon those few supports that are left me. People in this state are like props indeed, they cannot stand alone, but two or more of them can stand, leaning and bearing upon one another. I wish you and I might pass this part of life together. My only necessary care is at an end. I am now my own master too much; my house is too large; my gardens furnish too much wood and provision for my use. My servants are sensible and tender of me; they have inter-married, and are become rather low friends than servants: and to all those that I see here with pleasure, they take a pleasure in being useful. I conclude this is your case too in your domestic life, and I sometimes think of your old house-keeper as my nurse; tho' I tremble at the sea, which only divides us. As your fears are not so great as mine, and I firmly hope your strength still much greater, is it utterly impossible, it might once more be some pleasure to you to see England? My sole motive in proposing France to meet in, was the narrowness of the passage by sea from hence, (the Physicians having told me) the weakness of my breast, &c. is such, as a sea-sickness might endanger my life. Tho' one or two of our friends are gone, since you saw your native country,¹ there remain a few more who will last so till death, and who I cannot but hope have an attractive power to draw you back to a Country, which cannot quite be sunk or enslaved, while such spirits remain. And let me tell you, there are a few more of the same spirit, who would awaken all your old Ideas, and revive your hopes of her future recovery and Virtue. These look up to you with reverence, and would be animated by the sight of him at whose soul they have taken fire, in his writings, and derived from thence as much Love of their species as is consistent with a contempt for the knaves of it.

I could never be weary, except at the eyes, of writing to you; but my real reason (and a strong one it is) for doing it so seldom, is Fear; Fear of a very great and experienced evil, that of my letters

unable 'to bear the mortification of not hearing from a very few distant friends that are left'. Possibly the letter of 9 Feb. had not reached him.

¹ Pope was evidently under the impression that Swift was born in England: Spence, *Anecdotes*, ed. Osborn, 1966, i. 52. Faulkner notes here 'The *Dean* was born in *Ireland*: This I mention because the Sentence so marked may be understood in a double Sense.'—1741.

23 March 1736-7

Alexander Pope to Swift

being kept by the partiality of friends, and passing into the hands, and malice of enemies, who publish them with all their Imperfections on their head; so that I write not on the common terms of honest men.¹

Would to God you would come over with Lord Orrery, whose care of you in the voyage I could so certainly depend on; and bring with you your old housekeeper and two or three servants. I have room for all, a heart for all, and (think what you will) a fortune for all. We could, were we together, contrive to make our last days easy, and leave some sort of Monument, what Friends two Wits could be in spite of all the fools in the world. Adieu.

4806

Lord Carteret to Swift

Arlington street. March. 24th 1736-7.

Sr²

I this day attended the Cause You recommended to me in yr letter of the 3d Jan: the Decree was affirm'd most unanimously, the Appeal adjudged frivolous, & 100^l costs given to the Respond^t. Lord Bathurst attended likewise, the other Lords You mention I am very little acquainted wth, so cannot deliver Yr messages, tho I pity them in being out of Yr favour. Since You mention Greek, I must tell You that my Son not 16 understands it better than I did at 20 & I tell him *study Greek καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε ταπεινὸν ἐνθυμηθήσῃ οὐτὲ ἄγαν ἐπιθυμήσεις τινός*. He knows how to construe this & I have the satisfaction to believe he will fall into the sentiment, and then if he makes no figure he will yet be a happy man. Yr late Ld Lt³ told me some time ago he thought he was not in Yr favour, I told him I was of that opinion, & shew'd him the Article of yr letter relating to himself; I believe I did wrong; not y^t You care a farthing for Princes or Ministers, but because it was vanity in me to produce Yr acknowledgements to me for providing for people of learning, some of w^{ch} I had the honour to promote at Yr desire for w^{ch} I still

¹ Pope, with divided hopes, was evidently yet expecting word from Orrery that he was to get his letters back.

² This letter is a reply to one from Swift asking Carteret to attend the hearing of an Irish appeal to which persons called Delane were the parties.—Ball.

³ The Duke of Dorset.

think myselfe oblig'd to You, & I have not heard that since they have disturbed the peace of the Kingdom, or been Jacobites in disgrace to You & me.

I desire you will make my sincere respects acceptable to Dr Delany, He sent me potted Woodcocks in perfection wch L^{dy} Granville¹ My Wife & children have eat tho I have not yet answerd his letter. My Lady Granville reading Yr Postscript bids me tell You that she will send You a Present, & if she knew what you liked she would do it forthwith; let me know & it shall be done, that the first of the Family may be no longer postpon'd by You to the third place. My Wife & L^{dy} Worsley desire their respects shoud be mention'd by me to you retorically, but as I am a plain Peer I shall say nothing but that I am for ever | S^r Yr most faithfull & obedient servant | Carteret.

When people ask me | how I govern'd Ireland | I say yt I pleas'd Dr Swift. | Quaesitam meritis sume superbiam.

Endorsed by Swift: Mar. 30. 1737 | L^d Carteret.

Huntington Library HM 24017

Swift to John Barber

[Dublin, 30 March 1737]

Dear M^r Alderman.²

You will read the Character of the Bearer M^r Loyd, which he is to deliver to you, signed by the Magistrates and chief Inhabitants of Coleraine.³ It seems, your society hath raised the Rents of that Town; and your Lands adjoining, about three years ago, to four times the value of what they formerly payd; which is beyond all I have ever heard even among the most screwing Landlords of this impoverished Kingdom; and the consequence hath already been, that many of your Tenants in the said Town and Lands are pre-

¹ His mother.

² The autograph manuscript of this letter is in the Huntington Library, HM 24017. Previous editors have followed the text first printed by Deane Swift in 1765, which varies substantially from the autograph and was presumably a draft.

³ In Swift's time the commercial and industrial development of Coleraine, co. Londonderry, was being fostered by the Irish Society.

30 March 1737

Swift to John Barber

paring¹ for their Removal to the Plantations in America; for the same Reasons that are driving some thousands of Familyes in the adjoining northern Parts, to the same Plantations.² My dear Friend, you are to consider that, no Society can, or ought in prudence or Justice let their Lands at so high a Rate, as a Squire who lives upon his own Estate, and is able to distrain in an hours warning. All Bodyes corporate must give easy Bargains, that they may depend upon receiving their Rents, and thereby be ready to pay all the incident charges to which they are subject: Thus, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, as well as other Corporations seldom or never let their Lands even so high as at half the [value. On the other side, their is no reason]³ And when they raise those Rents which are scandalously low, it is ever by degrees. I have many Instances of this Conduct in my own Practice; as well as in that of my Chapter. Although my own Lands as Dean be let for four fifths under their Value, 'I have not raised them a sixth part in twenty three years, and took very moderate fines.'⁴ On the other side, I confess, there is no Reason why an honorable Society should rent their Estate for a Trifle: And therefore I told Mr Loyd my Opinion, that, if you could be prevailed on, just to double the old Rent, and no more; I hoped, the Tenants might be able to live in a tolerable manner: For, I am as much convinced, as I can be of any thing human, that this wretched oppressed Country must of necessity decline every year. If, by a Miracle Things should mend, you may in a future Renewall make a moderate increase of Rent; but not by such Leaps as you are now taking.⁵

I am told, that one Condition in your Charter obligeth you to plant a Colony of English in those Parts; if that be so, you are too wise to make it a Colony of Irish Beggars. 'Some ill consequences have already happened by your prodigious increase of the Rent. Many of your old Tenants have quitted their Houses in Coleraine: others are not able to repair their habitations, which are daily going to Ruin and many of those who live on your Lands in the Country, ow

¹ After 'preparing' the words 'for their removal' are omitted by Deane Swift.

² After 'Plantations' Deane Swift introduces the words 'I mean the oppression of landlords'.

³ These words are struck through in the manuscript.

⁴ The words within half-brackets do not appear in Deane Swift's text.

⁵ After 'taking' Deane Swift has the following sentence: 'For you ought to remember the fable of the Hen who laid every second day a golden egg, upon which her mistress killed her to get the whole lump together.'

great Arrears, which they will never be in a Condition to pay.¹¹ I would not have said thus much in an affair, and about Persons, to whom I am an utter Stranger; if I had not been assured by some whom I can trust of the poor condition those People in and about Coleraine have layn under since that enormous Increase of their Rents.

The Bearer Mr Loyd, whom I never saw till yesterday, seems to be a Gentleman of great Truth and good Sense: 'He hath no Interest in the Case, for, although he lives at Colerain, his Preferment is some Miles farther. He his (*sic*) now going to visit his Father, who lives near Wrexham not far from Chester, and from thence, at the desire of your Tenants in and near Coleraine he is content to go to London, and wait on You there with his Credentials.¹² If he hath misrepresented this matter to me in any one Particular, I shall never be his Advocate again.

'And now, my dear Friend, I am forced to tell you, that my Health is very much decayd; My Deafness and giddyness are more frequent. Spirits, I have none left: my memory is almost gone. The publick Corruptions in both Kingdoms allow me no Peace or Quiet of Mind. I sink every day, and am older by twenty years than many others of the same age . . .¹³ I hope, and am told, that it is better with you . . . May you live as long as you desire; For, I have lost so many old Friends without getting any new, that I must keep you as a Handsell of the former.

I am my long dear Friend with great Esteem and Love | Your most obedient | humble Servant | J: Swift.

Dublin. Mar. 30

1737.

When I would write to you I can not | remember the Street you live in.

¹⁻³ The three passages here placed within half-brackets do not appear in Deane Swift's text; and throughout the letter there are many verbal variants.

31 March 1737

Swift to Lord Orrery

Pierpont Morgan Library

Swift to Lord Orrery

[Dublin, 31 March 1737]

My dear Lord¹

I am so busy a Person in State affairs, that I cannot endure to read Country Letters. I have indeed some faint remembrance that I received a Letter from you about four days ago, and another about as many days sooner.² Confound that B— Fortune who did not make me a Lord, although it were of Irel^d; I should have been above the little Embranglements into which I put my self. The Thing was this. A great Flood of Halfpence from England hath rolled in upon us by the Politicks of the Primate. I rayled at them to Faulkner, who printed an Advertisement, naming me, and my ill will towards them; for which he was called before the Council, was terribly abused, but not sent to Prison, onely left to the mercey of the common Law for publishing a Libel; for so they called his Paragraph.³ I expected to have the same honor of attending their — ships; I sent off all my Papers, as I have often done; but their — honors have not medled further, and the Halfpence must pass; I quarrell not at the Coin, but at the Indignity of not being coyned here, and the loss of 12000^l in gold and silver to us, which for ought I know, may be half our Store.⁴ I am told by others as well as Y^r Lordship, that the City of

¹ At the head of the letter Orrery has written, 'March 31st 1737. | N^o 13.' This is one of the letters from which extracts were printed by Craik (*Life*, ii. 342–8) with acknowledgements to 'the kindness of the Earl of Cork' in whose possession they then were. They are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. This letter is printed in full from Swift's autograph.

² 15 and 18 Mar. 1736–7.

³ After the word 'Paragraph' the words 'and left him to the common Law' are struck through.

⁴ Archbishop Boulter was disturbed, as were others, including Irish traders, at the scarcity of silver change in Ireland. In consequence silver was at a premium and the value of the gold guinea, at exchange for silver, was reduced, so that, as Boulter put it in a letter to Walpole, a guinea passed 'at 23s. Irish, or 21s. English and 3d.' During the year 1736 Boulter wrote well-reasoned letters on the subject to Walpole, Lord Anglesea, the Dukes of Newcastle and Dorset, and the Earl of Granard (*Boulter's Letters*, Dublin ed. ii. 121–45). Boulter suggested as a measure for regulating the exchange, the reduction of the value of the guinea to £1. 2s. 9d. This was effected by proclamation on 29 Sept. 1737. Swift's mistaken opposition to the scheme was prompted by his conviction that absentees would benefit by the lowering of the gold standard. At the same time Boulter

Cork hath sent me my Silver box and Freedom;¹ but I know nothing of it: I am sorry there are not fools enough in Cork to keep you out of the Spleen . . . Have you got any money from your Tenants? Can you lend me a thousand Pounds? Are you forced to dyet and lodge? Or, if I visit you about two, can you give me a chicken and a pint of Wine or a chicken? or do you send for Bills from Marston? It was your Pride to refuse an 100¹¹ that I offered to lend you, when I thought you were in want; can you now do me the same civility? But I scorn to accept it: Mrs Whiteway found 60¹¹ in my Cabinet; besides some few (but very small) Banker's Bills. When I get my Cork box I will certainly sell it, for not being Gold. I have consulted the Pantheon, and do not find your Account of Pandora's box to be authentick. Littleton mentions nothing of the metal. Therefore, I desire your Aldermⁿ would begin with Gold, and, if any mischief should happen, let them send another 18 times and 50 Grains heavier in Silver.—Taken your Seat among them! Pray my Lord are you an Alderman of Cork? or, do you speak it out of Vanity? I value not your English news or Politicks one Straw, Ireland is now the Scene of Business and Politicks: The Eye of all Europe is upon us; so at least asserted a famous member of the Club some years ago . . . It is Saturday, and late, and here is Mr^s Whiteway come to interrupt me, So that this Lett^r cannot go till Tuesday. Mar. 29 and yet she hath scolded me ten times for not writing to you sooner. She hath a Singularity of inquiring an hundred times after you, and of spurring me on to torment you with Letters; nay she goes so far as to call even my good Manners in question, which even my Enemyes never dispute about; which angred me so much that I vowed I would never present you with her most humble respects, and Acknowledgments for your Civilityes to her. Pray, my Lord come to us a Month before you leave this Kingdom, and dine with me every day on Scraps with Mr^s Whiteway in my bed-chamber; and then I will (*multa gemens*) take an eternall Farewell of You . . . I am dayly losing ground, both in health and Spirits, I am plagued this month with a noise in my head, which deafens me; and some

imported, to Swift's indignation, £2,000 worth of copper money. His objection, in this instance, as he explained in this letter, lay in the fact that it was not minted in Ireland.

¹ This presentation gift caused Swift more annoyance than gratification. It was bequeathed to John Grattan as a receptacle for 'the tobacco he usually cheweth, called pigtail'.

31 March 1737

Swift to Lord Orrery

touches of Giddyness, my old disorders. I am fretting at universall publick Mismanagement; I believe my Estate is near Cork; for my Tenants will not pay me. We have had no hanging or marrying for some time. For want of Ladyes I am forced to toast You: S^r Rob^t¹ and I did it at dinner to day; and thrice a Week M^{rs} Whiteway proposeth you at dinner and Supper. Your Lordship kept such ill company here, that I cannot send you any Services; you have not the Honor to know the Grattans, nor do I know (or ever desire to know) your Cousin the Speaker . . . I desire you will send me a Present of three Cork cream Cheeses, shaped like a Sugar-loaf. You have heard me talk of Philosopher Webber, a Cork-man, one of my Prebend^{ryes}:² He hath like your Lordship an Estate in and near Your Town; and some of these Cheeses are sent to him: Therefore, since you love Cheese, and are so good a Judge of it, I seriously expect at least six shillings worth: I must repeat again, that I am told by others as well as your Lordship of my Freedom and box being already come, and delivered to me; so that I am the onely ignorant Person; my Fear is what I dare not mention, that they could not find a Messenger who had honesty enough to bring it, except M^r Bettsworth: Now, My Lord I command you never to write to me without a particular account of your health; because I know you have sometimes little aylments, which without due care may rise to be of consequence. How can you live so long and so far from your Earl-Associator's Coach, Company and learned Conversation? My Neighbor Prelate³ who politickly makes his Court to S^r R. W. by imitating that great Minister in every minute pulling up his Breeches; This Prelate (I say) as Parsons say (I say) harangued my Neighbors against me under the Name of *Some wicked man* about the new half-pence, but received no other answer than God bless the ——⁴ I have kept this Letter two Posts for want of materials to finish it: M^{rs} Whiteway is with me, who understands fashions, at least pretends to me, that she does; and yet has not one single bit of Intelligence to supply me with . . . It is now the last day of March . . . and yet I have not one Scheam to make a hundred Fools to morrow . . . She is just gone down stairs, but I expect her every moment up; and, that she is gathering materials at the Street door Gate . . . I had yesterday a Letter from my old Friend L^d Carteret,⁵ who says not

¹ Mrs. Ridgeway.

² Samuel Webber, Prebendary of Howth.

³ Archbishop Hoadly.

⁴ Drapier.

⁵ 24 Mar. 1736-7.

a Syllable to confirm what we hear from Engd; that Walp— and Mr Pulteney are become friends, and both to be made Lords; which I scarce believe; because the first might have been a Duke many years ago, if it had been possible to govern the Parl^{mt} without him. Mr^s Whiteway is come, but assures me, that there is never any news in Lent, and therefore desires to be excused till Easter Sunday. I am not weary with all this writing, nor have the least regard whether you be so or no. We are much sunk in Wit, for I have not so much as seen one dull Poem, or any Poem since you left us . . I have sad news to tell you of my self; I had it from Mr^s Whiteway, that I have lost the good will of all the Presbyterians in Ireld, because upon the City's favoring Fanaticks I have altered my Will, and not left the May^r Ald^rmen &c my Trustees for building my Hospital; My Lord, it must be owned, that this is your Fault. You are to carry a great Load¹ for me to England when you are going thither; pray let me know as near as you can, what time you will be in this Town, and when you will begin your Voyage. For I must spurr my self up, as far as my old faculty of Procrastinating will permit me. It is well I am near the end of my Paper, both for you and my self. For I had fifty times more to say. All your friends here are well except my self. Pray present my most humble Service to, to, to,² Nobody except Mr Bettesworth: I am my Dear Lord Your most obedient and most humble serv^t with the truest Respect and esteem as long as I live, |
J: Swift

Begun four days ago, and sent Mar. 31st. 1737.
Dublin.

Deane Swift 1768

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

Corke, April 3d, 1737.

Dear Sir,³

I am very glad there are twelve thousand pounds worth of half-pence arrived; They are twelve thousand arguments for your quit-

¹ The MSS. of the *Four Last Years of the Queen*, Pope's letters, and *Polite Conversation*.

² Thus in manuscript.

³ In the *Orrery Papers*, i. 209-10, this letter is printed from Orrery's letterbook, now at Harvard. As there printed the quotations from Virgil do not appear.

3 April 1737

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

ting Ireland. I look upon you in the same state of the unfortunate *Achaemenides* amidst tyrants and monsters—Do you not remember the description of *Polypheme* and his den?

. . . *Domus sanie dapibusque cruentis*
Intus opaca, ingens, ipse arduus, altaque pulsat
Sidera, (Dii talem terris avertite pestem!)
Nec visu facilis, nec dictu affabilis ulli:
*Visceribus miserorum & sanguine vescitur atro.*¹

Remember also, that

Centum alii curva haec habitant ad littora vulgo
*Infandi Cyclopes, et altis montibus errant.*²

Translate these lines and come away with me to Marston;³ there you shall enjoy *otium cum dignitate*; there you shall see the famous *Sacsokishkash*, and his two pupils;⁴ who shall attend your altars with daily incense; there no archbishops⁵ can intrude; there you shall be the sole lord and master; whilst we your subjects shall learn obedience from our happiness.—If you ever can think seriously, think so now; and let me say with the curate of my parish, Consider what has been said unto you, ponder it well, lay it up in your heart, and God of his infinite mercy direct you!—「Mrs. *Whiteway* shall be truly welcome welcome to *Marston's* homely shade. *Hector*⁶ shall fawn upon the Doctor; and I myself will be under the direction and government of Sir *R.W.*」⁷

You tell me, I am to carry a load for you to *England*;⁸ the most acceptable load will be yourself, and that I would carry with as true piety as *Aeneas* bore the antient *Anchises* on his shoulders, when he fled from fire, from blood, from *Greeks*, and from ruined *Troy*!

Can you expect that lords move regularly? Is it not below our station to think where or when we are to go? But if my coach and six

¹ *Aeneid*, iii. 618.

² *Ibid.* 643.

³ Orrery's seat in Somersetshire.

⁴ Orrery's sons.

⁵ As will be seen by Swift's letter, 15 Apr. 1737, addressed to the Seneschal to the Archbishop of Dublin, attempts were being made to exercise authoritative intrusions upon the Liberty of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

⁶ Orrery's dog.

⁷ Mrs. Ridgeway.

⁸ Swift sent by the hands of Orrery the manuscript of the *Four Last Years of the Queen* to William King, his *Polite Conversation* to Mrs. Barber, and letters to Pope.

is in order, perhaps I may have the honour to start a hare¹ in *Stephen's-Green*² about the first of next month. In the middle of *June* I will hope to set sail with you to *England*. Mr. *Pope* will come out beyond the shore to meet you: you will exchange Cyclops for Men; and if one must fall, surely the choice is right.

*Si pereo, manibus hominum periisse juvabit.*³

My next shall be longer. I am now forced to bid you farewell; but hereafter expect my whole life and conversation: you shall certainly have the cheeses.⁴ If you will come to *Somersetshire*, I will eat one for joy. The best in *England* are made in my manor.

I am so well, that I had almost forgot to answer that kind part of your letter. It is only you that can add health and happiness to your very affectionate obliged and faithful servant, | Orrery.

Longleat xiii (Harleian Transcript)

The Earl of Oxford to Swift

[7 April 1737]

Good Master Dean

I am extremely obliged to you for several letters which I with great shame and concern acknowledge that I have not answered,⁵ as also several remembrances of me and my Family in your letters to several of your Friends but particular in your letters to M^r Pope, I stand very strongly obliged to you upon these accounts, I dare say you will do me that justice that you will not attribute my not writing to proceed from any Neglect of you or from any forgetfulness, I am certain of this that I do retain the warmest esteem and sincerest regard for you of any one be he who he will and therefore I hope

¹ Orrery's transcript has 'strutt and stare' for 'start a hare'.

² The large open landscape garden in the centre of Dublin, at that time a swampy meadow.

³ *Aeneid*, iii. 606.

⁴ In a footnote Deane Swift states: 'The Earl of *Orrery* hated cheese to such a degree, that he could scarce bear the sight of it.'

⁵ So far as we know, however, Swift had addressed to Lord Oxford no letters since 1735, 6 Jan., 2 Sept., and 21 Oct. Oxford's last letter to Swift was that of 19 June 1735.

7 April 1737

The Earl of Oxford to Swift

you will pardon what is passed and I promise to amend if my letters would in the least be agreeable to you.

one occasion of my writing to you now is, (next to my asking your forgiveness) this I am told that you have given leave and liberty to some one or more of your Friends to print a History of the last four years of Queen Annes Reign wrote by you.

as I am most truly sensible of your constant regard for and sincere Friendship for my Father even to Partiality (if I may say so) I am very sensible of the share and part he must bear in such a History and as I remember, when I read over that History of yours,¹ I can recollect that there seem'd to me a want of some papers to make it more compleat which was not in our power to obtain, besides there were some severe things said which might have been then very Currently talked of, but now will want a proper evidence to support, for these reasons it is that I do intreat the Favour of you and I make it my earnest request that you will Give your Positive Directions that this History be not printed and publisht till I have had an opportunity of seeing of it with a liberty to show it to some Family Friends whom I would consult upon this Occation. I beg pardon for this, I hope you will be so good as to Grant my request, I do it with great deference to you if I had the pleasure to see you I could soon say some things to you that would convince you I am not wrong, they are not proper for a letter as you will easily guess. my Wife desires your Acceptance of her most humble service my Daughter is extreamly pleased with the notice you are pleased to take of her, she is very well she brought me another Grandaughter last month, She desires your acceptance of her most humble Service, and would be glad of the pleasure of seeing you here in England, The Duke of Portland so far answers our expectations that indeed he exceeds them for he makes the Best Husband, the Best Father, and the Best Son, these Qualities are I assure you very rare in this Age. I wish you would make my Compliments to my Lord Orrery, do you designe to keep him with you? I do not blame you if you can. | I am with true esteem and regard | S^r | Your most oblig'd & | most Faithfull humble Serv^t. | Oxford.

¹ In August 1727 Swift had stayed with Lord Oxford at Wimpole. See his letter to Sheridan, 12 Aug. 1727. He had shown the History to Oxford, see p. 61 *post*. For a full account of the fortunes of the manuscript see H. Williams, 'Jonathan Swift and the Four Last Years of the Queen' in *The Library*, fourth series, xvi. 61-90, and the Introduction to *Prose Works*, ed. Herbert Davis, vol. vii; and David Greenwood, *William King*, 1969, pp. 80-86.

I wish Master Faulkner | when he sends anything | to me would say how you do¹

Endorsed on verso of the second leaf: A Copy of a letter to | Dean Swift | April the 7th. 1737.

Faulkner 1746

Swift to the Rev. Thomas Sheridan

April 9 1737.

About a Month ago I received your last Letter, wherein you complain of my long Silence;² what will you do when I am so long in answering? I have one Excuse which will serve for all my Friends, I am quite worn out with Disorders of Mind and Body; a long Fit of Deafness, which still continues, hath unqualified me for conversing, or thinking, or reading, or hearing; to all this is added an Apprehension of Giddiness, whereof I have frequently some frightful Touches. Besides, I can hardly write ten Lines without twenty Blunders, as you will see by the Number of Scratchings and Blots before this Letter is done: Into the Bargain, I have not one Rag of Memory left; and my Friends have all forsaken me. As to my taking a Journey to *Cavan*, I am just as capable as of a Voyage to *China*, or of running Races at *Newmarket*. But, to speak in the *Latinitas Grattianiana*; *Tu clamas meretrix primus*; for we have all expected you here at *Easter*, as you were used to do.—Your Muster-Roll of Meat is good, but of Drink in sup Port able.³ Yew wann twine.⁴ My stress *Alba*

¹ Sheridan has a footnote to this postscript, repeated by Nichols in 1801: 'Mr. Faulkner was with Dr. Swift when he received this letter, which he instantly answered, and made Faulkner read it to him: the purport of which was "that although he loved his lordship's father more than he ever did any man; yet, as a human creature, he had his faults, and therefore, as an impartial writer, he could not conceal them."' The dean made Faulkner write on the same sheet of paper to his lordship to answer for himself, and to put it into the post office, as he would not trust a servant with it, that he might vouch the truth, if ever he should hear his character called in question upon this occasion.'

² No letter from Sheridan to Swift, which can be safely dated, has been preserved later than that of 15 Sept. 1736. There is the letter in the Grattianian Style of uncertain date, if addressed to Swift. Neither of these complains of his long silence.

³ Insupportable.

⁴ You want wine.

9 April 1737

Swift to the Rev. Thomas Sheridan

*via*¹ hath eaten here all your hung Beef, and said it was very good.² I am now come to the *noli me Tan* Jerry, which begg Inns wyth mad Dam.³—So I will go on by the Strength of my own Wit upon Points of the high est imp or taunts.⁴ I have been very curious in considering that fruitful Word *Ling*; which explaineth many fine Qualities in Ladies, such as *grow ling*, *ray ling*, *tip ling*, (seldom) *toy ling*, *mumb ling*, *grumb ling*, *curr ling*, *puss lling*, *buss ling*, *strow ling*, *ramb ling*, *quarry ling*, *tat ling*, *whiff ling*, *dabb ling*, *doub ling*. These are but as ample o fan hunn dread mower: They have all got cold this Winter, big Owing tooth in lick lad ink old wet her, an dare ink you rabble⁵—Well, I triumph over you, Is corn Urine cap a City?⁶ Pray tell me, does the Land of *Quilca* pay any rent? or is any paid by the Tenant? or is there not any Part of 50*l.* to be got? But before you make Complaints of ill Payments from your School, I will declare I was never so ill paid as now, even by my richer Debtors. I have finished my will for the last time,⁷ wherein I have left some little Legacy, which you are not to receive until you shall be entirely out of my Debt, and paid all you owe to my Executors. And I have made very honourable Mention of you in the Will, as the Consideration of my leaving these Legacies to you.

Explain this Proverb, *Salt dry Fish, and the Wedding-gold, Is the Vice of Women both young and old*. Yes, you have it i nam o mento time.⁸ The old Huncks *S—d* hath bury'd his only Son, who was a young Huncks come to Age.⁹

A Satyr on an inconstant Lover.

*You are as faithless as a Carthaginian,
To love at once Kate, Nell, Doll, Martha, Jenny, Ann.*

¹ Mistress Alba Via.

² Sheridan here introduces a sentence which does not appear in Faulkner: 'The affair of high importance in their family is, that miss Molly hath issued out orders, with great penalties to be called Mrs. Harrison: which caused many speck you'll ash owns' (i.e. speculations).

³ *Noli me tangere*, which begins with Madam.

⁴ Highest importance.

⁵ These are but a sample of a hundred more; they have all got cold this winter by going too thinly clad in cold weather and are incurable.

⁶ I scorn your incapacity.

⁷ According to a note by Lyon (Forster Collection, no. 579) Swift altered his will in protest when a Dissenter was elected as physician to the Blue Coat Hospital.

⁸ In a moment of time.

⁹ The allusion is to Anthony Sheppard, M.P. for the borough of Longford.

A Specimen of Latinitas G——.¹

Ego ludam diabolum super duos Baculos cum te.

Voca super me cras.

Profecto Ego dabo tibi tuum ventrem plenum legis,

Sine me solum cum illo. Ego capiam tempus.

Quid pestis velles tu esse apud.

Ego faciam te fumare.

Duc uxorem veni super.

Ego dabo tibi pyxidem in aure.

Ego faciam te secare Saltum.

Veni, veni, solve tuum Scotum, et fac non plura verba.

Id est plus expensi quam veneratio.

Si tu es pro Lege, dabo tibi Legem, tuum ventrem plenum.

Ut Diabolus voluit habere id.

Quid est materia tecum.

Tu habes vetus Proverbium super tuum latus: Nihil est nunquam in periculo.

Cape me apud illud, et suspende me.

Ego capio te apud tuum verbum.

Tu venis in farti tempore.

Est formosus corporatus homo in facie.

Esne tu super pro omni die.

Morsus: Esne tu ibi cum tuis Ursis.

Ille est ex super suam servationem.

Tu es carcer avis.

Ego amo mendacem in meo corde, et tu aptas me ad crinem.

Ego dicam tibi quid: Hic est magnus clamor, et parva Lana.

Quid! tu es super tuum altum Equum.

Tu nunquam servasti tuum verbum

Hic est diabolus et omne agere.

Visne tu esse tam bonus, quam tuum verbum?

Ego faciam porcum vel canem de id.

Ego servo hoc pro pluvioso die.

Ego possum facere id cum digito madido.

Profecto Ego habui nullum manum in id.

Esne tu in aure nido?

Tu es Homo extranei renis.

Precor, ambula super.

¹ i.e. Grattaniana.

9 April 1737

Swift to the Rev. Thomas Sheridan

Ego intro non in tuas querelas.

Ego feci amorem Virgini Honoris.

Quomodo venit id circum, quod tu ludis Stultum ita?

Vos ibi, fac viam pro meo Domino.

Omnes socii apud pedem pilam.

Fæminæ & linteum aspiciunt optimè per candelæ lucem.

Rothschild¹

Swift to William Richardson

[9 April 1737]

S^r

I have wondred since I have had the Favor to know you, what could possibly put you upon your Civilityes to me.² You have invited me to your house, and proposed every thing according to my own Schemes, that would [make] me easy: You have loaded me with Presents, although it never lay in my Power to do you any sort of favor or advantage: I have had a Salmon from you of 26¹¹ weight, another of 18¹¹, and the last of 14¹¹. Upon which my ill-natured Friends descant that I am declining in your good Will, by the declining of Weight in your Salmons, they would have had your Salmons double the Weight, the second should have been of 52¹¹, the third of a hundred and 4, and the last of 208¹¹. It seems this is the way of Dublin Computers, who think, you Country Gentlemen have nothing to do but to oblige us Citizens, who are not bound to make you the least return, further than when you come hither to meet you by chance in a Coffee house, and ask you what Tavern you dine in, and there pay your Club. I intend to deal with you in the same Manner; and if you come to Town for three Months, I will invite you once to dinner, for which I shall expect to stay a whole year with you, and you will be bound to thank me for honouring your House. You saw me ill enough when I had the Honor to see you at the Deanry.—M^{rs} Whiteway my Cousen and the onely Cousen I own, remembers she was here in your Company, and desires to present her humble service to you, and no wonder, for you sent me so much

¹ This letter was first printed in Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, 1789, p. 38. The original manuscript is in Lord Rothschild's Library, no. 2301.

² See 18 Mar. 1736–7.

Salmon, that I was forced to give her a Part. Some ten days ago, there came to see me one Mr Loyd a Clergyman who lives as I remember, near Colerain.¹ He had a Commission from the People in and about that Town, which belongs to the London Society. It seems, that three years ago the Society increased their Rents from 300^l to 1200^l a year; since which time the Town is declined, the Tenants neglect their Houses, and the Country Tenants are not able to live . . . I writ a Lett^r by him to Alderman Barber, because there demands seem very extravagant . . . But I had no other Reason for doing so, than the ample Commissions he had from the Town of Colerain; I wish I knew your Sentiments in this Affair; I never saw the Gentleman before, but the Commission he had, encouraged me so far that I could not refuse him the Letter.—Although I were ill enough when I saw you, I am fourty times worse at present, and am no more able to be your guest this summer than to travel to America, I have been this month so ill in² a giddy head, and so very deaf, that I am not fit for human Conversation, besides, my Spirits are so low, that I do not think any thing worth minding, and most of my Friends with very great Justice have forsaken me. I find you deal with Falkner. I have read his Rollin's history, the Translator did not want knowledge enough, but is a Coxcomb by running into those Cant words and Phrases which have spoiled our Language, and will spoyle it more every day. Your presents are so numerous that I had almost forgot to thank you for the Cheese, against which there can be no Objection but that of too much Rennet, for which I often wish ill to the Housewife. | I am S^r with true esteem, Your most obedient humble | Servant. | Jonath: Swift.

Apr. 9th 1737—

B.M., Egerton MSS. 201, f. 2.

Swift to —

Deanry-house. Apr. 15 1737

S^r

I find that ever since you have been employd as Seneschal to my L^d Archbishop of Dublin, you have been upon all occasions

¹ See Swift to Barber, 30 Mar. 1737.

² in] with *Berkeley, Ball.*

15 April 1737

Swift to —

encroaching upon the Libertyes of the Dean and Chapter of St Patricks, in a most arbitrary and unpresented manner. You know very well that our Libertyes were confirmed by an act of Parliament in the Reign of Edw^d the 4th; which Act we have by us in the Book called Dignitas Decan.; and the Archbishop then alive was cast, although he did not act in a degree so arbitrarily and Magisteryally as you; who like a Lawyer call it a merit in any Court to extend your Jurisdiction.¹ I resent this so highly, that knowing I am in the right, by having the Opinion for many years of severall able Lawyers, I will resist by force any of your people who dare to enter our Liberty, as having any Power here; | I am S^r | your humble Ser^t | J: Swift

If the Archbishop knew | the foot we stand on, I believe | he would not much approve of | your proceedings

Endorsed by Swift on verso of second leaf: Ap^r. 15— 1737 | Lett^r to A.B^s Senesch^h | not sent, by M^r Kings^s advice—

Deane Swift 1768

William Richardson to Swift

April 17th, 1737

Reverend Sir,

I returned last night from *Derry*, where I have been for some time past, and where you will be received with great respect. I pleased myself with the hopes of finding at home an account of the time you design being here—My disappointment occasions you this

¹ The chartulary, to which Swift refers, is preserved in the archives of St. Patrick's Cathedral. It contains a collection of charters and documents relating to the history of the Cathedral, and as the Bishop of Ossory points out in a calendar of the volume which he contributed to the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (vol. xxv, sec. C, p. 481) it derives its name from the phrase 'dignitas decani et omnium canonicorum', which is frequently used in referring to the privileges of the capitular body, and it concerns the Dean no more than any member of the Chapter. The Archbishop who had sought in Edward the Fourth's time to curtail the privileges of the Dean and Chapter was John Walton, previously Abbot of Osney, near Oxford, and the statute by which he was restrained is printed by Mason in his *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*.—Ball.

² Probably the Rev. James King, incumbent of St. Bride's Church, Dublin.

trouble; and I hope you will suffer that which can do it best to plead my excuse for being so importunate.¹

Sir, I take the country to be as pleasant the latter end of this, and all the next month, as any in the year; the fields are putting on their gayest liveries to receive you; the birds will warble their sweetest notes to entertain you; and the waters in the river *Bann*, when they come in view of your apartment, will tumble in great hurry to wait on you, and leave you with reluctance.

I must brag of my situation, and will pawn my credit with you in those matters, that you will pronounce it the most delightful you have seen in *Dublin* at least.

Sir, I will not conceal from you any longer a self-interest I have in honouring this place with your presence. All the inclosures I intend in my demesne are now finished, and I am ready to begin what I intend by way of ornament; but until I am fixed in the scheme of the whole, which I would have adapted in the best manner to the place, I would do nothing. I have delayed coming to a final resolution, till I shall have the opportunity of entreating your opinion and assistance after viewing the whole. It will perhaps afford yourself no disagreeable amusement, and occasion something elegant and correct in miniature, where nature has almost done every thing. When you let me know that you have fitted your stages, I will contrive to meet you as far as *Armagh* or *Stewartstown*.² I will only add, that it is one that loves you, as well as admires you, that is thus troublesome to you; and that I am, with the greatest truth, as well as esteem, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, | William Richardson.

Huntington Library HM 14347

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

[16 and 22 April 1737.³]

As soon as Mr^s Whiteway hears of my Decease, she is to come immediatly to the Deanry, and first take all the Keys of my Cabi-

¹ From this it appears that Swift's letter of the 9th had not then reached Richardson.

² The first town was distant from Dublin sixty-three miles and the second seventy-seven, while Coleraine was a hundred and nine.—Ball.

³ This document, printed by Scott, *Works*, 1824, i. 485, was sold at Sotheby's,

16 and 22 April 1737

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

nets. and seal them up in a Paper, in the presence of M^{rs} Anne Ridgeway, Roger Kenrick my Verger and Henry Land, if any of them be then alive, and in the Neighborhood. Then, M^{rs} Whiteway is to send for as many of my Executors as are in Town; and opening my Scrutore deliver them my Will, and let one of the s^d Executors Read my Will and Codicills; There should be three of my Executors present at least; they are all in Number nine Then, M^{rs} Whiteway, is to take all the ready money she can find, if there be two hundred pounds, but no more; which likewise she may lend to the s^d Executors upon their notes; In case I should happen to have not Cash enough, or Banker's bills, to pay the Charges of transporting my Body to Holy:head and for my Burial in the Church of that Town, as directed in my Will:¹ Then, she is to assist my Executors in sending my Plate to some Banker, together with my Valuable Curiosityes, which she knows where to fine[d], many of which are bequeathed: I desire likewise that the Number of my Books be taken, which are bequeathed to John Whiteway younger son to M^{rs} Martha Whiteway, and sent to the s^d Martha to be kept for the use of her s^d Son. except some books bequeathed in my S^d Will, or Codicills

I have written the Names of my Executors in the Page on the right hand of this Paper.

M^{rs} Whiteway is to secure the Bound Paper-book in quarto wherein the Debts due to me; and the Debts I ow entred to this present Month of April 1737—Seven, together with the whole State of my Fortune in debts Mortgages &c, and Plate, and valuable Curiosityes Houshold-goods, Arrears of Tythes, and Interest, &c. which my Executors are to have a Copy of; And M^{rs} Whiteway knows where to find all my Mortgages, Bonds &c, which she is to give to my s^d Executors, taking their Receit in order to receive the severall Interests or Principalls to purchase Land as declared in my last Will, which when my s^d Executors have entred in form in the proper Court, they are humbly desired to fullfill as soon as they conveniently can. Signed and Sealed April 22^d 1737—Seven |

Jonathan Swift.

Witness present

Ann Ridgway

Alexr Broaders

6 May 1858. It is now in the Huntington Library, HM 14347.

¹ In Swift's will, dated 3 May 1740, he directed that his body should be buried in the great aisle of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

[*List of Executors on the opposite page.*]

Rob^t Lyndsay Justice in the Common Pleas

Henry Singleton Prime Sergeant

Doctor Delany

Richard Helsham M.D.

Eton Stannard Recorder

Robert Grattan of St Audoen's

John Grattan of S^t Nich within

James Stopford of Finglas

James King of S^t Brides

Address: To | M^{rs} Martha Whiteway

Endorsed by Swift: 3. Apr. 16 For M^{rs} Whiteway to read.

1737 and keep, when finished—Codicill

Scott 1814

Swift to William Graham

To William Graham, Esq. At Drogheda.

[Deanery House, Dublin, 26 April 1737]

Sir,¹

As you hold a lease from me, and the chapter of my cathedral of St. Patrick's, which came to you by your mother, who was a person I much esteemed, you are obliged, by your lease, to pay annually L. 31, 15s.; and yet, whereas you are obliged to pay half yearly, you have thought fit to be two full years in arrear, and now owe us L. 63, 10s. This lease is a part of our economy, as we call it; that is to say, it is all applied to the repairs of the cathedral, to the payment of the organist, and other church servants.

Now, Sir, I remember you were at Doctor Sheridan's school, where you were taught all the principles at least of honour and justice; you were left, too, a great estate; and I hear you are at this time one of the privy-council.² However, our Procurator assures me,

¹ This letter, first printed by Scott in 1814, was transcribed from Swift's autograph, then in the possession of Leonard M'Nally, Esq., of Dublin. It was, as Scott notes, from the superscription and the absence of a signature, evidently a draft.

² The Right Hon. William Graham was M.P. for Drogheda, in succession to his father, and a Privy Councillor. He had married Lord Lansdowne's daughter.

26 April 1737

Swift to William Graham

that he never received one line in answer to his frequent letters for payment of your rent. I can impute this way of delaying to many causes; you have either forgot the lectures of Dr. Sheridan, your master, or you have heard it was an unfashionable thing in a gentleman to pay his just debts, or you are exalted by your great estate, or by your seat in the council; or, perhaps, you have been drawn into the association against the clergy; and therefore, you very reasonably conclude, that their churches, especially cathedrals, should suffer, as well as their own maintenance.

However, I am sorry that, although Christianity be much out of fashion, there might not be some remainder of pagan virtues, such as justice, and honour, and learning, and love of our country left, especially to those who have a vote in making laws, or sitting at a council-board.

I often have, in another kingdom, given advice, with good success, to younger men than you, and of greater titles.

If you resent any thing I have said, it will much lessen the credit of your understanding, as well as of your regard to common justice. I am, Sir, Your most obedient servant.

Deanry-house, Dublin | April the 26th 1737.

Berkeley Literary Relics

Swift to William Richardson

Dublin, April 30. 1737.

Sir,

If it had pleased God to restore me to any degree of health, I should have been setting out on Monday next to your house;¹ but I find such a weekly decay, that hath made it impossible for me to ride above five or six miles at farthest, and I always return the same day heartily tired. I have not an ounce of flesh or a dram of spirits left me: yet my greatest load is not my years but my infirmities. In England, before I was twenty,² I got a cold which gave me a deafness that I could never clear myself of. Although it came but seldom, and lasted but a few days, yet my left ear hath never been well since;

¹ See Richardson to Swift, 17 Apr.

² He was at least twenty-two.

but when the deafness comes on, I can hear with neither ear, except it be a woman with a treble, and a man with a counter-tenor. This unqualifies me for any mixed conversation: and the fits of deafness increases; for I have now been troubled with it near seven weeks, and it is not yet lessened, which extremely adds to my mortification. I should not have been so particular in troubling you with my ailments, if they had not been too good an excuse for my inability to venture anywhere beyond the prospect of this town.

I am the more obliged to your great civilities, because I declare, without affectation, that it never lay in my power to deserve any one of them. I find by the conversation I have had with you, that you understand a court very well for your time, and are well known to the minister on t'other side. The consequence of which is, that it lies in my power to undo you, only by letting it be known at St. James's that you are perpetually sending me presents, and holding a constant correspondence with me by letters. Another unwary step of yours is inviting me to your house, which will render your election desperate, by making all your neighbour squires represent you as a person disaffected to the government.¹ Thus I have you at my mercy on two accounts, unless you have some new court-refinements to turn the guilt upon me. I wrote a long letter some weeks ago;² but I could not find by the messenger of your last salmon that he knew anything of that letter, for you take, in every circumstance, a special care that I may know nothing more than of a salmon being left at the deanery. Thus there is a secret commerce between your servant and my butler. The first writes a letter to the other—says the carriage is paid, that the salmon weighs so much, and was sent by his master to me. If some of our patriots should happen to discover the management of this intrigue, they would inform the privy council, from which an order would be brought by a messenger to seize on the salmon, have it opened, and search all its entrails to find some letter of dangerous consequence to the state. I believe I told you in my former letter, that Mr. Lloyd, a clergyman, minister of Coleraine,³ but who lives four miles from it, came to me upon his

¹ In the following year Richardson was elected member for the borough of Augher in place of Richard Tighe, who had died in July 1736.

² 9 Apr., see p. 31.

³ As appears subsequently Dr. Squire was incumbent of Coleraine; and, as Swift mentions earlier, although Lloyd lived at Coleraine his preferment lay at a few miles distance.

30 April 1737

Swift to William Richardson

going to England, to see his old father in Chester, and from thence goes to London to wait upon the society. He shewed me very ample credentials from the magistrates of Coleraine to deliver to the society, upon some hard things that colony lies under. It seems, about three years ago, their lease was out; the rent was L. 300 a year, but upon the renewal it was raised to L. 1200, which was beyond what I have known in leases from corporations. I had never seen or heard of Mr. Lloyd. He is middle-aged, and walks with a stick as if he were infirm. I wrote by him to Alderman Barber, putting the case as Mr. Lloyd gave it me, who says that the townfolks and tenants of the estate round Coleraine would be content to double the rent; but that the present prodigious addition had made the townsfolks let their buildings decay, and the country tenants were in despair. I then wondered how you came to mention nothing of this to me, since you are concerned for the society. If Mr. Lloyd hath not fairly represented the matter, he hath not behaved himself suitable to his function: However, pray let me know the truth of the matter, and how he came to be employed: only I find that he is not known to any of my acquaintance that I have seen since.

Pray God preserve you, Sir, and give you all the good success that I am convinced you deserve.

I am, with true esteem and gratitude, your most obedient and obliged servant, | Jonath. Swift.¹

B.M. Add. MS. 38671

Swift to John Rochfort

[3 May 1737]

S^r

I was looking in some of Doc^{tr} Sheridan's Letters about the money you owed him for your Nephew, and onely find the Sum to be ten

¹ According to Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, p. 46, Swift's letter was dispatched to Richardson as an enclosure within a brief missive written by Mrs. Whiteway: 'Sir, The Dean, by giving me this letter to inclose to you, has laid an opportunity in my way of presenting you my most humble respects and thanks for the honour you did me in mentioning me in one of your letters to him. I am, Sir, your most humble servant, Martha Whiteway.'

Swift to John Rochfort

3 May 1737

pounds, 7 shill,¹ and Mr^s Brackley² in a dozen Letters teizeth me about it: all I can do is to sign a Receipt for the money, and get Mr Henry³ to transmit it to London: Therefore I desire you will send me the Money, and such a Receipt as you would have me sign: which I will do before a Witness, and give it to the Messenger you send. | I am S^r | Your Obed^t &c. | J: Swift

Deanry-house | May: 3^d 1737

Address: To John Rochford Esq^r

B.M. Add. MS. 38671

Swift to John Rochfort

[3 May 1737]

S^r

That you may not be in pain I send you your own Original of the Receipt you desire, and witnessed by Mr^s Ridgeway. I shall to morrow transmitt the money to morrow⁴ by Mr Henry to that woman Mr^s Brackley | I am your most | obedient | &c | J: Swift

May 3^d | 1737.

Address: To John Rochford Esq^r.

Deane Swift 1768

The Hon. Margaret Davys to Swift

May 27th, 1737.

Sir,⁵

I know you are always pleased to do acts of charity, which encourages me to take the liberty of recommending a boy about ten

¹ There are frequent references to this debt in letters passing between Swift and Sheridan. It was incurred by placing a son of George Rochfort in the charge of Sheridan. He appears to have been an entirely unsatisfactory youth.

² Mrs. Brackley's identity is in doubt.

³ The attorney.

⁴ *Sic* manuscript.

⁵ The writer of this letter, the Hon. Margaret Davys, was a sister of the third Viscount Mountcashell. On 8 June 1738 she married ('with £30,000') the fifth Earl of Barrymore. He died 19 Dec. 1751. She survived him over thirty years, dying at an advanced age 2 Dec. 1788.

27 May 1737

The Hon. Margaret Davys to Swift

years old, the bearer of this, to your goodness, to beg you would employ it in getting him put into the *Blue-coat-Hospital*. I received the inclosed letter from him this morning. Your compliance with this request, and pardon for this trouble, will oblige, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, | M. Davys.

Faulkner 1741

Swift to Alexander Pope

Dublin, May 31, 1737.

It is true, I owe you some letters,¹ but it hath pleased God, that I have not been in a condition to pay you. When you shall be at my age, perhaps you may lie under the same disability to your present or future friends. But my age is not my disability, for I can walk six or seven miles, and ride a dozen. But I am deaf for two months together, this deafness unqualifies me for all company, except a few friends with counter-tenor voices, whom I can call names if they do not speak loud enough for my ears. It is this evil that hath hindered me from venturing to the Bath, and to Twittenham; for deafness being not a frequent disorder, hath no allowance given it; and the scurvy figure a man affected that way makes in company, is utterly insupportable.

It was I began with the petition to you of *Orna me*, and now you come like an unfair merchant, to charge me with being in your debt; which by your way of reckoning I must always be, for yours are always guineas, and mine farthings; and yet I have a pretence to quarrel with you, because I am not at the head of any one of your Epistles.² I am often wondring how you come to excel all mortals on the subject of Morality, even in the poetical way; and should have wondred more, if Nature and Education had not made you a professor of it from your infancy. All the letters I can find of yours, I

¹ On 21 May Pope had written to Orrery asking him to 'finish what you began with the Dean' in procuring from him the letters which he had promised to send. In continuation Pope added that he had written to Swift 'a warm Letter' on the subject, and that he would write again a 'third Letter'. Swift's opening remark in this letter bears out what Pope had written to Orrery.

² These remarks, as Sherburn observes, indicate that Swift would have preferred a poetical memorial to their friendship.

have fastned in a folio cover, and the rest in bundles endorsed; But, by reading their dates, I find a chasm of six years, of which I can find no copies; and yet I kept them with all possible care: But, I have been forced, on three or four occasions to send all my papers to some friends, yet those papers were all sent sealed in bundles, to some faithful friends; however, what I have, are not much above sixty.¹ I found nothing in any one of them to be left out: None of them have any thing to do with Party, of which you are the clearest of all men, by your Religion, and the whole Tenour of your life; while I am raging every moment against the Corruptions in both kingdoms, especially of this; such is my weakness.

I have read your Epistle of Horace to Augustus;² it was sent me in the English Edition, as soon as it could come. They are printing it in a small octavo. The curious are looking out, some for flattery, some for ironies in it; the sour folks think they have found out some: But your admirers here, I mean every man of taste, affect to be certain, that the Profession of friendship to Me in the same poem, will not suffer you to be thought a Flatterer. My happiness is that you are too far engaged, and in spite of you the ages to come will celebrate me, and know you were a friend who loved and esteemed me, although I dyed the object of Court and Party-hatred.

Pray who is that Mr. Glover, who writ the Epic Poem called *Leonidas*,³ which is re-printing here, and hath great vogue. We have frequently good Poems of late from London. I have just read one upon Conversation,⁴ and two or three others. But the croud do not incumber you, who like the Orator or Preacher, stand aloft, and are seen above the rest, more than the whole assembly below.

I am able to write no more; and this is my third endeavour, which is too weak to finish the paper: I am, my dearest friend, yours entirely, as long as I can write, or speak, or think. | J. Swift.

¹ In the correspondence as we have it the 'chasm' in Pope's letters is one of seven years from 20 June 1716 to August 1723. If Swift returned sixty letters from Pope to himself Pope suppressed at least half of them. See Ball, *Correspondence*, vi, Appendix 1; and Sherburn, v. 44-46.

² Cf. Swift to Pope, 9 Feb. 1736-7.

³ Richard Glover, 1712-85, published in this year *Leonidas*, an epic poem in nine books of blank verse. It was interpreted as an anti-Walpole effusion, and quickly ran into four editions.

⁴ *An Essay on Conversation*, 1737 (anonymous), written by Benjamin Stillingfleet, a grandson of Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester.

9 June 1737

Swift to the Rev. James Stopford

Forster copy

Swift to the Rev. James Stopford

[Deanery House, 9 June 1737]

Dear Sr

I hear that your Curate M^r Bury of Finglas is to be preferred to D^r Drury's livings; and that you must have another curate.¹ I therefore desire that if you are not engaged, (which is the usual Court answer) you will please to confer that Curacy upon M^r Duncan, who is a most ingenious man, and for whom I procured an addition to his Annuity from the University; I never heard any ill of him, except a Marriage not very prudent; But he is very happy in his Wife, and would be glad to succeed your Curate M^r Bury and would constantly live at Finglas

I desire to present my Service to your Lady and M^{rs} Stopford.² I am your most obedient Humble Servant, | J. Swift.

Deanry House | June 9. 1737

Address: To The Reverend M^r James Stopford | at his house in Dawson Street.

Pierpont Morgan Library

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

[Deanery House, 11 June 1737]

My dearest Lord³

‘You will never be quiet untill you have quite broken my Heart. However as you have nineteen days of this month left, I hope you do not intend that I am not to see you before you go.⁴ The Papers you will please to take with you for D^r K— at Oxford, are all corrected, and may be bundled up in twenty Minutes: I continue still deaf.¹ All your Kindnesses and Praises and Acknowledgments, ought to have come out of my Mouth and from my Heart to Your

¹ Dr. Edward Drury, at one time Master of the Cathedral School, had died recently. At the time of his death he held the Prebend of Malahidert. Anthony Bury had been twenty years curate of Finglas.

² Probably his mother.

³ This letter is headed by Orrery, ‘June 11:th 1737. | N^o 14’. Ball prints only those portions of the letter enclosed within half-brackets.

⁴ Orrery had returned to Dublin from Cork.

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

11 June 1737

L^dship. But, 'as a Friend is called a second self, you have been writing your own Character and mistook it for mine.'¹

You shall, you must see me, because I must never see you more: and yet I hope your hours of Leisure will afford me a Line: and I hope likewise that your Native Country will restore you to Your Health, provided you will be carefull of your Person, for the contrary to which I have heard you blame your self; and I fear you are too temperate in drinking, and not strict enough in avoyding to eat what is improper in your Disorder Pray God preserve you as long as you desire to live, and bless you for ever. I am my ever dearest | Lord, with the greatest Love, Esteem | and Respect your most obedient and | obliged humble Serv^t J: Swift

Deanry-House. June 11th 1737

I think I am to have the Book you sent. Since you expect another and are going to the Fountain head.

Harvard University

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

June 12th 1737.

You mistook me, dear Sir, as to *Mr Pope's Letters*: The incomparable Author has sent Each of Us a Present of Them, and of his last Imitation of *Horace*, by a private Hand, from *London* but They are not yet arriv'd;¹ when your Book comes, (which I fancy is entrusted to the Bishop of Derry,² and he will be here this week) you may send me back That which you have now.

I will certainly see you very often before I go. I will constantly write to you when I am gone, & will require no Answer, but at your utmost Leisure & in your best Health.

As my Journey depends upon Law Buesness, I mean References, Accounts &c. I am put off *de Die in Diem* & cannot positively say when It will be. But as my Children, my Freinds, & my Health call loudly for my Presence in England, I hope to obey their Summons

¹ The volume of Pope's *Letters* and his imitation of *The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace* were published in May. Orrery is replying to the post-script to Swift's letter of the preceding day.

² Bishop Rundle arrived from England nine days later.

12 June 1737

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

either the last week in this month, or the first in the next.—I cannot bear the Thoughts of parting with you: Let us settle It by a Letter the last day wrote from each other. Do not say, Do not think We are to part forever. Had I no Buesness in Ireland The Sight of you would more than make amends for a Sea Sickness. As I draw nearer loosing you, my Affection, which lay close in my Heart, rises in Letters, in Sighs, in Tears, therefore you will excuse this Trouble from | your most affectionate oblig'd | & faithfull humble Servant. | Orrery.

Address: To the Revd Dr Swift Dean | of St Patrick's.

Portland MSS., B.M. Deposit

Swift to the Earl of Oxford

[Dublin, 14 June 1737]

My Lord¹

I had the Honour of a Letter from your Lordship dated April. 7th, which I was not prepared to answer untill this Time. Your Lordship must needs have known, that the History you mention of the four Last Years of the Queen's Reign, was written at Windsor, just upon finishing the Peace, at which time, Your Father and my Lord Bolingbroke, had a misunderstanding with each other, that was attended with very bad Consequences. When I came to Ireland to take this Deanry, (after the peace was made) I could not stay here above a Fortnight,² being recalled by a hundred letters to hasten back, and to use my Endeavours in reconciling those Ministers. I left them the History you mention, which I had finished at Windsor, to the Time of the Peace. When I returned to England, I found their Quarrells and Coldness increased; I laboured to reconcile them as much as I was able; I contrived to bring them to my Lord Masham's, at St. James's. My Lord and Lady Masham left us together. I expostulated with them both, but could not find any good Consequences. I was to go to Windsor next day with my L^d Treasurer; I pretended Business that prevented me; and so I sent them to Windsor next day, which was Saturday, in the same coach: expecting they would come to some éclaircissement,³ But I

¹ The letter is superscribed 'R. June: 27 1737'. It was sold at Sotheby's, 6 May 1858, item 171. Bought by Pilkington.

² Actually three months.

³ The manuscript used by Deane Swift, 1755 and 1765, showed a blank in place of this word. See his *Essay*, 1755, p. 340, and *Works*, 1765.

followed them to Windsor; where my Lord Bolingbroke told me (for I followed them)¹ that my scheme had come to nothing. Things went on at the same Rate, They grew more estranged every day; My Lord Treasurer found his Credit daily declining. In May before the Queen dyed; I had my last meeting with them at my Lord Mashams. He left us together, and therefore I spoke very freely to them both; and told them, I would retire, for I found all was gone: L^d Bolingbroke whispered me, I was in the Right. Your Father said, all would do well. I told him that I would go to Oxford on Monday; since I found it was impossible to be of any Use. I took Coach to Oxford on Monday; went to a Friend in Berkshire; there stayd until the Queens Death, and then went to my Station here; where I stayd twelve years, and never saw My Lord Your father afterwards. They could not agree about printing the History of the four last Years; and therefore I have kept it to this Time, when I determine to publish it in London; to the confusion of all those rascals who have accused the Queen and that Ministry of making a bad Peace; to which that Party entirely owes the Protestant Succession. I was for almost four years in the greatest Trust and Confidence with your Father the Lord Treasurer, as well as with my Lord Bolingbrook, and all others who had part in the Administration. I had all the Letters from the Secretaries Office, during the Treaty of Peace; out of those, and what I learned from the Ministry, I formed that History, which I am now going to publish for the Information of Posterity, and to controull the most impudent falshoods which have been published since . . I wanted no kind of Materialls. I knew Your Father better than you could at that Time; and I do impartially think him the most Virtuous Minister, and the most able that ever I remember to have read of. If your Lordship hath any particular Circumstances that may fortify what I have said in that History; such as Letters or other memorialls, I am content they should be printed at the End by way of Appendix. I loved My Lord Your father better than any other Man in the World, although I had no obligation to him on the Score of Preferment, having been driven to this wretched Kingdom (to which I was almost a Stranger) by his want of power to keep me in what I ought to call my own Country; though I happened to be dropped here, and was a Year old before I left it, and to my Sorrow

¹ The words within parentheses were struck out by Swift.

14 June 1737

Swift to the Earl of Oxford

did not dye before I came back to it again. I am extremely glad of the Felicity you have in your Allyances, and desire to present my most humble Respects to My Lady Oxford, and your Daughter the Dutchess; As to the History, it is onely of Affairs, which I knew very well; and had all the Advantages possible to know, when you were in some sort but a Lad. One great design of it, is to do Justice to the Ministry at that time, and to refute all the Objections against them, as if they had a design of bringing in Popery and the Pretender; and further to demonstrate, that the present settlement of the Crown was chiefly owing to My Lord your Father. I can never expect to see England; I am now too old and sickly, added to almost a perpetuall Deafness and Giddyness. I live a most domestick Life; I want nothing that is necessary; but I am in a cursed factious oppressed miserable country, not made so by Nature, but by slavish, hellish principalls of an execrable prevayling Faction in it. Farewell, my Lord: I have tired you and my self. I desire again to present my most humble Respects to My Lady Oxford and the Dutchess your Daughter. Pray God preserve you long and happy: I shall diligently inquire into your Conduct, from those who will tell me, You have hitherto continued right; let me hear that you persevere so:—Your task will not be long; for I am not in a Condition of health or Time to trouble this world, and I am heartily weary of it already, and so should be in England, which I hear is full as corrupt as this poor enslaved Country. I am with the truest Love and Respect, my Lord, Your most obedient and obliged | humble Servant . . J Swift.

Dublin. Jun. 14th 1737.

Forster copy

Swift to the Rev. James Stopford

[June, 1737.]¹

Dear Sir,

I received your kind Letter this day; and heartily thank you for it. I am a requester as seldom as I can; because I know, by long Ex-

¹ The transcript is undated. On the presumption that Stopford answered Swift's letter of the 9th promptly, and that Swift replied within a few days, this letter may be placed before the 20th of the month. As will appear subsequently Swift was equally unsuccessful in obtaining for Dunkin the living of Coleraine.

Swift to the Rev. James Stopford

June 1737

perience, how unreasonable most people are in their Recommendations, and I feel it still, although I have no power left to do any good Office. I value M^r Bury a hundred times more than I do M^r Dunkin, whom I hardly know by sight; but, as he is a man of Genius, I wished him a little at ease, and he signified his desire to me by another hand, for I never had any commerce with him either by writing or personal Knowledge. But I repeat that recommenders are no Judges of Circumstances. Therefore I insist that you shall do all the good Offices you can for M^r Bury, and not once think that there is such a man in the world as M^r Dunkin. I am weak enough not to consider that in all Removals the whole Schemes are previously fixed; which (although not often) makes me err with the Multitude. I cannot accept your invitation to dine at Finglas; I am utterly unfit by my deafness and giddyness, to go among Company; I keep none but those who are Trebbles or high Tenors, nor to my Remembrance have dined from home these three Months, although I ride and walk as much as I can.

I desire to present my humble service to your Lady; and M^{rs} Stopford; and am, S^r, with the truest Esteem Your most obedient humble Serv^t | J. Swift.

I have ordered my Groom to go early to morrow morning to put [Mr. Dunkin] out of pain.

I write by candle light, & my ill memory makes me fill my Paper with interlineations. I would not give you the Constraint of a minute to make M^r Dunkin an Archbishop.

Address: To the Rev. M^r James Stopford | at Finglas.

Deane Swift 1768

The Rev. Thomas Sheridan to Swift

[22 June 1737]

Cerve Decane,

Ego longus audire a te, nunc Francisci sunt venti intus. Dominus M'Carty erat apud Sanctas Catherinas,¹ qui olim minabatur me cum

¹ Sheridan was staying with Lady Mountcashell at her house, St. Catherine's, within a few miles of Dublin on the border of co. Kildare. The name was derived from a religious order to which it once belonged.

22 June 1737

The Rev. Thomas Sheridan to Swift

scripto,¹ et sue ego ibam ad Dunboyn. Non reddebam ad Dublinum apud causam debebam nummum, & ego habebam id non ad cicerem.

Meus filius Thomas sedebat nuper pro scholasticâ nave, et perdidit id per malitiam unius Domini Hughs, qui gignebat super apud asserem,² et dixit, quod puer erat nimium juvenis pro juramento. Diabolus cape ingratum Socium; nam olim dedi illum doctrinam pro nihil; et sic servit me nunc. Quomodo unquam ego non volo capere ad cor, sed ego faciam optimum de malo mercatu. O qualis mundus est hic! Sed ego dicam non plus. Scio quod scio; et tenebo mentem ad meipsum, et ego solvam id de cum cogitando.

Ego habeo tres libros sapientum dictorum³ transcriptos pro te in pulchrâ et magnâ manu, quos mittam ad te per primam opportunitatem, ante ut meus dominus Orrery vadit pro Angliâ; nam promisit capere illos cum se, et facere pactum pro me cum praelatore.

Corrigo illos libros valde puteus, et jubebas me, sic id ego spero non habebis multum agere; nam est non rationabile dare tibi multam molestiam circum sarciendo stylum. Amica Donelson⁴ est cito ire ad Dublinum, mittam illos cum illâ.

Ego habeo non ullos nuncios, sed quod nostra tempestas est valde calida, in sic tantum, ut omne nostrum gramen est ustum super, et pecora habent nihil edere. Caremus pluvia valde multum, si Deus placeret mittere—Mitte me verbum quid genus tempestatis est in Dublino, & si placet te mitte ad me rationem tuae sanitatis. Da meum humile servitium omnibus, qui rogant pro me, ad Dominum Orrery ad Doctorem Helsham & caeteris amicorum. Precare cape curam de teipso, & sic obligabis tuum humillimum famulum, | Thomas Sheridan.

Junii die 22^o Unum mille septem centum & triginta septem.

Servitium et amor dominae albae viae.

¹ The reference is to Lady Mountcashell's nephew, the titular Earl of Clan-carty, whose drinking habits and friendship with Sheridan are mentioned in Mrs. Sican's letter to Swift of 15 Nov. 1735.

² Lambert Hughes, a junior fellow of Trinity College, successfully opposed the election of the younger Thomas Sheridan to a scholarship. In 1738, however, he secured election.

³ His *bons mots*.

⁴ The Cavan innkeeper.

Deane Swift 1768

John Barber to Swift

London, June 23, 1737.

Most Honoured Friend,

I was favoured with a letter some time since¹ by the hands of the bearer Mr. *Lloyd*, and by him take the opportunity of answering it.

I do assure you, Sir, that as the Society have always had the greatest regard for your recommendation, so, in this affair, they have given a fresh instance of their respect; for they have resolved to relieve their tenants in *Coleraine* from their hard bargains; and, to that end, have put it in a way that is to the entire satisfaction of the bearer.

I hope this will find you in good health; and that the hot weather will contribute thereto; which will be a great satisfaction to all honest men who wish well to their country.

Our friend Mr. *Pope* is very hearty and well, and has obliged the town lately with several things in his way; among the rest, a translation of *Horace's* Odes; in one of which you are mentioned *as saving your nation*:² which gave great offence; and, I am assured, was under debate in the council, whether he should not be taken up for it: but it happening to be done in the late king's time, they passed it by.

I hope you see the paper called *Common Sense*,³ which has wit and humour.

I had thoughts of kissing your hand this summer; but we are all in confusion at *Derry* about power, which will prevent my coming at

¹ That of 30 Mar. 1737.

² Lines 221–8 of *The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace*:

Let Ireland tell, how Wit upheld her cause,
Her Trade supported, and supply'd her Laws;
And leave on SWIFT this grateful verse ingrav'd,
The Rights a Court attack'd, a Poet sav'd.
Behold the hand that wrought a Nation's cure,
Stretch'd to relieve the Idiot and the Poor,
Proud Vice to brand, or injur'd Worth adorn,
And stretch the Ray to Ages yet unborn.

The event which happened in the time of the late King was Swift's opposition to Wood's halfpence.

³ The first number of *Common sense; or, The Englishman's Journal* appeared in Feb. 1737. Chesterfield, Lyttelton, and William King were among the contributors. With No. 40 this periodical split into two rival productions. With No. 43 one of the two changed its title to *Old Common Sense*.

23 June 1737

John Barber to Swift

present; but I am in hopes of having that happiness before I die. I thank God I hold out to a miracle almost; for I am better in my health now than I was many years ago.

Lord *Bolingbroke* is in *France*, writing, I am told, the History of his own Time: he is well. You will please to make my compliments to lord *Orrery* and Dr. *Delany*.

I have many things to say, which in prudence I must defer.

I shall conclude with my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to preserve your most valuable life for many years, as you are a publick blessing to your country, and a friend to all mankind; and to assure you that I am, with sincerity, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most faithful humble servant, | John Barber.

Deane Swift 1768

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

St. Mary-Hall, Oxon, June 24, 1737.

Madam,¹

I have this day the favour of your letter of the 14th, which hath given me great pleasure: however, I could not help bestowing some maledictions on those gentlemen of the post-office, who have been so impertinent as to intercept our correspondence; for you ought to have received another letter from me with one inclosed for our friend in some few days after you had the packet from *Hartley*. This was in answer to the letter you mention, which I got the very next day (as well as I remember) after *Hartley* went from *London*.

As soon as I hear of my Lord *Orrery*'s arrival on this side the water, I will wait on him to receive the papers. The moment they are put into my hands I will write to you again.

I don't know why the Dean's friends should think it derogatory, either to his station or character, to print the History by subscription, considering how the money arising by the sale of it is to be

¹ The last surviving letter of King to Swift before this date is that of 7 Dec. 1736. As appears from this letter, however, he must have written several times since about the publication of *The Four Last Years of the Queen*; and he had suggested that it should be printed by subscription. Further, he had learned that the manuscript was to be sent to him by Lord *Orrery*.

applied. I am not for selling the copy to a bookseller: for, unless a sufficient caution be taken, the bookseller, when he is master of the copy, will certainly print it by subscription, and so have all the benefit which the Dean refuses. But I shall be better able to send you my thoughts of this matter, when I have talked with some of my friends, who have had more dealings in this way than I have.

And have you at last got store of copper halfpence, and are content to give us gold and silver in exchange for this new coin? This serves to verify an observation I have frequently made, that the grossest imposition on the public will go down, if the managers have but patience to try it twice, and art enough to give it a new name. The Excise scheme, which made such a noise here a few years ago, passed here last winter with little opposition, under a new shape and title. How would the ghost of *Wood* triumph over the Drapier, and rattle his copper chains, if the spectre were permitted to meet him in his walks? But I am unawares running into politicks, without considering that these reflections may occasion the loss of my letter. I have therefore done with your copper.¹

You can't imagine how greatly I am vexed and disappointed, that I have been so long obliged to keep back my conversation piece.² I have in this respect, wholly complied with the reasoning, or rather with the humours, of some of my friends. They were willing to try their skill in accommodating my *Irish* affairs; in which, after all, I believe they will be disappointed as much as I have been: for the adversaries I have to deal with, proceed on a principle that will hear no reason, and do no good, not even to themselves, if others are at the same time to receive any benefit by the bargain. However, since you seem so earnestly to desire a second view of this work, I will send you a book by Mr. *Swift*,³ who intends to go from hence about ten days or a fortnight hence. You will be so kind as to keep it in your own hands until the publication.

As I think it proper to write a postscript in your letter to a certain person, that must be nameless, and finding I have but room for my address to him, I will say no more to you now than that I am, and

¹ Deane Swift, in his edition of Swift's *Letters*, 1768, has a long footnote explaining that King misunderstood the difference between the halfpence of 1724 and those of 1737. In 1724 the chief gravamen was the base, adulterate character of the coinage. Swift himself stated that he had no objection to the coin of 1737, but he resented the indignity of its not being minted in Ireland.

² *The Toast*.

³ Deane Swift.

24 June 1737

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

always must be, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant, | William King.

P.S. To the Gentleman of the post-office who intercepted my last letter addressed to Mrs. *Whiteway*, at her house in *Abbey-Street*, together with a letter inclosed and addressed to the Dean of *St. Patrick's*.

Sir,

When you have sufficiently perused this letter, I beg the favour of you to send it to the lady to whom it is directed. I shall not take it ill though you should not give yourself the trouble to seal it again. If any thing I have said about the copper halfpence and excise should offend you, blot it out. I shall think myself much obliged to you, if, at the same time, you will be pleased to send Mrs. *Whiteway* those letters which are now in your hands, with such alterations and amendments as you think proper. I cannot believe that your orders will justify you in detaining letters of business: for as you are a civil officer, I conceive you have not a licence to rob on the highway. If I happen to be mistaken, of which I shall be convinced if this letter should be likewise intercepted, I will hereafter change my address, and enrol you and your superior in my catalogue of heroes.

Deane Swift 1768

William King to Swift

St. Mary-Hall, Oxford, June 24, 1737.

Sir,

I do not know for what reason the worthy gentlemen of the post-office intercepted a letter, which I did myself the honour to write to you about two months ago. I cannot remember I said any thing that could give them the least offence. I did not mention the new half-pence; I did not praise the royal family; I did not blame the prime minister; I only returned you my thanks for a very kind letter I had just then received from you. It is true I inclosed in that letter a printed paper called *Common Sense*, in which the author¹ proposes a new scheme of government for the people of *Corsica*,

¹ This paper of *Common Sense* was written by Dr. *King* himself.—Deane Swift. See David Greenwood, *William King*, 1969, pp. 78–80.

advising to make their King of the same stuff of which the *Indians* make their gods. I thought to afford you some diversion: but perhaps it was this made the whole packet criminal.

I have this day received a letter from Mrs. *Whiteway*, in which she tells me that I am to expect the manuscript by lord *Orrery*. I will have the pleasure to wait on him as soon as I can do it without crossing the *Irish* channel: and as soon as I receive the papers, you shall hear from me again. I shall have an opportunity of writing fully to you by Mr. *Deane Swift*, who proposes to set out for *Ireland* the next vacation. In making mention of this gentleman, I cannot help recommending him to your favour. I have very narrowly observed his conduct ever since I have been here; and I can, with great truth, give him the character of a modest, sober, ingenious young man. He is an hard student, and will do an honour to the society of which he is now a member.

Mrs. *Whiteway* says, that notwithstanding all your complaints, you are in good health and in good spirits. What think you of making a trip to *England* this fine season, and visiting our *Alma Mater*? I can offer you an airy cool room during the summer, and a warm bed-chamber in the winter; and I will take care that your mutton commons shall be kept long enough to be tender. If you will accept of this invitation, I promise to meet you at *Chester*, and to conduct you to King *Edward's* lodgings: and then *St. Mary-Hall* may boast of a triumvirate, that is not to be matched in any part of the learned world, Sir *Thomas More*, *Erasmus*, and the *Drapier*. Believe me to be with the greatest esteem, Sir, Your most obedient and most humble servant, | William King.

Forster 579, transcript by Lyon

Rebecca Dingley to Swift

June¹ 25th 1737

²Then received from Doctor *Swift*, Dean of *St Patrick's*, the sum of thirteen Pounds sterling, in full for one Quarters Rent of

¹ Incorrectly copied as 'July' by Ball.

² Transcribed by the Rev. John Lyon on a leaf inserted between pp. 34 and 35 of his copy of the Dublin edition of Hawkesworth's *Life of Swift*, printed for S. Cotter, 1755, 12mo. Forster 579.

Lyon tells us in a note that Swift 'used to write the Rec^t himself in ye following

25 June 1737

Rebecca Dingley to Swift

Payments out of Funds in *England*, by advance of what will be due to me at *Michaelmas* next in this year 1737; The said Dean always paying me one Quarter by advance. | I say received by me | Re: Dingley

Deane Swift 1768

Erasmus Lewis to Swift

London, June 30, 1737.

Our friend *Pope* tells me, you could wish to revive a correspondence with some of your old acquaintances, that you might not remain entirely ignorant of what passes in this country.¹ on this occasion I would offer myself with pleasure, if I thought the little trifles that come to my knowledge could in the least contribute to your amusement; but as you yourself judge very rightly, I am too much out of the world, and see things at too great a distance, and beside this, my age, and the use I have formerly made of my eyes in writing by candle-light, have now reduced me almost to blindness, and I see nothing less than the pips of the cards, from which I have some relief in a long winter evening. However, to shew my dear Dean how much I love him, I have taken my pen in my hand to scratch him out a letter, though it be little more than to tell him most of those he and I used to converse with are dead; but I am

Form every Quarter Day, & sent it to be signed by y^e messenger who carried y^e money’.

Deane Swift, *Essay*, 1755, p. 346, tells us that Swift, ‘who allowed Mrs Dingley 52l. a year, contrived that matter in so genteel a way . . . that he pretended that he was only her friend, and her agent for money that she had in the funds: And to carry on the deceit with still greater politeness, he would sometimes cry, when she sent to him for part of this allowance, “pox take that woman; she is eternally plaguing me for money; tell her I have none to send her; I have had no remittance from *London* this quarter of a year;” and after pretending to be in a rage for three or four minutes, he would send her the money by way of advancing it, and take her receipt accordingly; by which stratagem . . . he effectually deceived the most sagacious of his acquaintance.’ The allowance was one which Swift had begun to give M. D. thirty-five years before, and obviously he had not allowed Stella’s death to interrupt it.

¹ We have no indication that Erasmus Lewis had written to Swift for many years. Apparently he only wrote to serve a purpose. His last surviving letter to Swift, 18 June 1717, concerned the impending trial of Lord Oxford.

still alive, and lead a poor animal life. Lord *Masham* is much in the same way: he has married his son, and boards with him; the lady is the daughter of *Salway Winnington*, and they all live lovingly together: the old gentleman walks afoot, which makes me fear that he has made settlements above his strength. I regret the loss of Dr. *Arbuthnot* every hour of the day: he was the best-conditioned creature that ever breathed, and the most chearful, yet his poor son *George*¹ is under the utmost dejection of spirits, almost to a degree of a delirium; his two sisters give affectionate attendance, and I hope he will grow better. Sir *William Wyndham* makes the first figure in parliament, and is one of the most amiable men in the world: he is very happy in his wife lady Blandford;² but I fear his eldest son will not come into his measures: this may create him some uneasiness.

Lord *Bathurst* is in *Gloucestershire*, where he plants, transplants, and unplants: thus he erects an employment for himself independent of a court.

I have the happiness to live near lord *Oxford*, who continues that kindness and protection to me that I had from his father. God Almighty has given him both the power and the will to support the numerous family of his sister, which has been brought to ruin by that unworthy man lord *K*—: now I name him, I mean lord *Oxford*, let me ask you if it be true, that you are going to print a History of the four last years of the Queen; if it is, won't you let me see it before you send it to the press? Is it not possible that I may suggest some things that you may have omitted, and give you reasons for leaving out others? The scene is changed since that period of time: the conditions of the peace of *Utrecht* have been applauded by most part of mankind, even in the two houses of parliament; Should not matters rest here, at least for some time? I presume your great end is to do justice to truth; the second point may perhaps be to make a compliment to the *Oxford* family: permit me to say as to the first, that tho' you know perhaps more than any one man, I may possibly contribute a mite; and, with the alteration of one word, *viz.* by inserting *parva* instead of *magna*, apply to myself that

¹ Son of Dr. John Arbuthnot, who proved his father's will, 12 Mar. 1735. Despite his melancholy temperament he survived to the age of seventy-six, having been first Secretary of the King's Remembrancer's Office for twenty-eight years (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1779).

² Wyndham married as his second wife Maria Catherina, daughter of Peter d'Jong of Utrecht, and widow of the Marquis of Blandford.

30 June 1737

Erasmus Lewis to Swift

passage of *Virgil, et quorum pars parva fui*.¹ As to the second point, I do not conceive your compliment to lord *Oxford* to be so perfect as it might be, unless you lay the manuscript before him, that it may be considered here.

Our little captain² blusters, reviews, and thinks he governs the world, when in reality he does nothing; for the first minister³ stands possessed of all the regal power: the latter prates well in the house, and, by corruption, is absolute master of it: as to other matters, his foreign treaties are absurd, and his management of the funds betrays a want of skill: he has a low way of thinking. My dear Dean, adieu: believe me to be, what I really am, most affectionately yours.

Faulkner 1741

Swift to Alexander Pope

Dublin, [June] 1737.⁴

I sent a letter to you some weeks ago, which my Lord Orrery inclosed in one of his, to which I received as yet no answer, but it will be time enough when his Lordship goes over, which will be as he hopes in about ten days, and then he will take with him 'all the letters I preserved of yours, which are not above twenty-five. I find there is a great chasm of some years, but the dates are more early than my two last journeys to England, which makes me imagine, that in one of those journeys I carried over another Cargo.'⁵ But I cannot trust my memory half an hour; and my disorders of

¹ Virg. *Aen.* ii. 6.

² The King.

³ Sir Robert Walpole.

⁴ This letter was first printed in Pope's London quarto of 1741, and reprinted in the Supplement of Faulkner's 1741 volume, vii. 294-6. The date of the early editions, and of Elwin, vii. 360, 23 July 1737, is obviously wrong, for on 23 July Orrery wrote from England to Swift informing him that he had delivered the letters to Pope. Possibly 23 July was the date on which Pope received this letter.

⁵ Swift here states that he has only twenty-five of Pope's letters, whereas writing to him on 31 May he said he had not 'much above sixty.' By this he probably meant sixty of all correspondents placed with Pope's letters. Twenty-five seems to be about the number he sent to Pope.

deafness and giddiness increase daily. So that I am declining as fast as it is easily possible for me, if I were a dozen years older.

We have had your volume of Letters, which I am told are to be printed here:¹ Some of those who highly esteem you, and a few who know you personally, are grieved to find you make no distinction between the English Gentry of this Kingdom, and the savage old Irish, (who are only the vulgar, and some Gentlemen who live in the Irish parts of the Kingdom) but the English Colonies, who are three parts in four, are much more civilized than many Counties in England, and speak better English, and are much better bred. And they think it very hard, that an American who is of the fifth generation from England, should be allowed to preserve that title, only because we have been told by some of them that their names are entered in some parish in London. I have three or four Cousins here who were born in Portugal, whose Parents took the same care, and they are all of them Londoners.² Dr. Delany, who as I take it, is of an Irish family, came to visit me three days ago, on purpose to complain of those passages in your Letters; he will not allow³ such a difference between the two climates, but will assert that North-Wales, Northumberland, Yorkshire, and the other Northern Shires have a more cloudy ungenial air than any part of Ireland. In short, I am afraid your friends and admirers here will force you to make a Palinody.

As for the other parts of your volume of Letters, my opinion is, that there might be collected from them the best System that ever was wrote for the conduct of human life, at least to shame all reasonable men out of their Follies and Vices.⁴ It is some recommendation of this Kingdom, and of the taste of the people, that you are at least as highly celebrated here as you are at home. If you will blame us for Slavery, Corruption, Atheism, and such trifles, do it freely, but include England, only with an addition of every other Vice.—I wish you would give orders against the corruption of English by those Scribblers who send us over their trash in Prose and Verse, with abominable curtailings and quaint modern-

¹ The London quarto, published in May, Griffith 454.

² Among the number were the daughters of his cousin Willoughby Swift.

³ Pope had printed in his quarto Swift's letter of 20 Sept. 1723, in which Ireland is condemned for 'the dulness of the air, and of the people'. This, doubtless, prompted Delany's complaints; and Swift may have felt that he should have been afforded the opportunity of deletion.

⁴ Pope claimed this to be a major purpose in the publication of the letters.

June 1737

Swift to Alexander Pope

isms.¹—I now am daily expecting an end of life: I have lost all spirit, and every scrap of health; I sometimes recover a little of my hearing, but my head is ever out of order. While I have any ability to hold a commerce with you, I will never be silent, and this chancing to be a day that I can hold a pen, I will drag it as long as I am able. Pray let my Lord Orrery see you often; next to yourself I love no man so well; and tell him what I say, if he visits you. I have now done, for it is evening, and my head grows worse. May God always protect you, and preserve you long, for a pattern of Piety and Virtue.

Farewel my dearest and almost only constant friend. I am ever, at least in my esteem, honour, and affection to you, what I hope you expect me to be. | Yours, &c.

Pierpont Morgan Library

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

[Deanery House, 2 July 1737]

My dear Lord.²

I have corrected the inclosed as well as my shattered head was able; I intreat Your Lordship will please to alter whatever you have a Mind; and please to deliver it with Your own Hand to Doctor King at his Chambers in the Temple . . If you sail on Monday,³ I fear you will not have time to see me, and so I must bid you Farewell for ever; For although you should stay a day or two longer, you will be in too great a Hurry for me to expect you; Pray God protect you in h[earth],⁴ and the continuance in the Love and Esteem of [all good] Men, I can hear something better, but my H[ead is] very ill: but in all Conditions I will live and dye with the truest Respect, Esteem, Love and Attachment, Your most obedient and most | obliged Serv^t | J: Swift.

Deanry-house | July. 2^d: 1737.

¹ As Professor Sherburn suggests Swift may here be objecting to certain characteristics of Pope's letter-text. The Dublin editions show a greater tendency to expand 'em' to 'them', 'till' to 'until', 'carry'd' to 'carried', &c.

² This letter is headed by Orrery 'N^o 15.'; and he has placed a X above the word 'inclosed' and noted below the letter, 'Preface to the History of the four last years of Q. Ann'.
³ 4 July.

⁴ The paper is torn where words are supplied within brackets.

Pierpont Morgan Library

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

[Deanery House, 2 July 1737]

My Dear Lord¹

Although I have taken my leave of You by a Letter, and Your Lordship hath done the same with me in the kindness² manner; yet hoping that the Wind will not serve till ten a Clock to morrow,³ 'I send you the inclosed Receit; well witnessed. For my Will being long settled, I could not otherwise than by a conditional sale of the Picture, secure it for you upon the Conditions expresse[d] in the Receit; So I look upon my self to be payd, and wish you may behold it without Spectacles fifty and sixty years hence.'⁴ I am ever with my old wishes, needless to Repeat your | Lordships most &c | J: Swift

Deanry House. | July 2^d 1737.

This shall be with you | at 9 to morrow morn

Address: To | The Right Honorable the | Earl of Orrery

Orrery Papers

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

Dublin, July 3rd, 1737.

I see, dear Sir, that I must never look at Lady O's Picture but with Sorrow. May it long keep out of my Sight, unless you fill up the vacancy with some other Peice of painting. I shall travel with the important Packett that is to leave Dublin next Tuesday night.⁵ My Horses are already neighing on the Welch Mountains. My Heart, since I have taken Leave of You, is in England. My Prayers are all address'd to the Winds. *Spirate, Spirate secundi*. Once more Farewell, and in that Word take All that the sincerest Freindship and firmest Affection can wish You! | Orrery. Sunday

¹ Orrery has headed the letter 'July 2^d 1737.', and written in the margin 'N^o 16'.

² *Sic*.

³ Ball prints only the passage within half-brackets.

⁴ The allusion is, apparently, to the portrait of his wife which Orrery had sent to Swift four years before. Swift was taking measures to secure its return to Orrery in the event of his death.

⁵ 5 July.

4 July 1737

The Earl of Oxford to Swift

Deane Swift 1768

The Earl of Oxford to Swift

Dover-street, July 4, 1737.

Good Mr. Dean,¹

Your letter of *June* 14th, in answer to mine of the 7th of *April*, is come to my hands; and it is with no small concern that I have read it, and to find that you seem to have formed a resolution to put the History of the four last years of the Queen to the press; a resolution taken without giving your friends, and those that are greatly concerned, some notice, or suffering them to have time and opportunity to read the papers over, and to consider them. I hope it is not too late yet, and that you will be so good as to let some friends see them, before they are put to the press; and, as you propose to have the work printed here, it will be easy to give directions to whom you will please to give the liberty of seeing them; I beg I may be one;² this request I again repeat to you, and I hope you will grant it. I do not doubt but there are many who will persuade you to publish it; but they are not proper judges: their reasons may be of different kinds, and their motives to press on this work may be quite different, and perhaps concealed from you.

I am extremely³ sensible of the firm love and regard you had for my father, and have for his memory; and upon that account it is, that I now renew my request, that you would at least defer this printing until you have had the advice of friends.⁴ You have forgot that you lent me the history to read when you were in *England* since my father died; I do remember it well. I would ask your pardon for giving you this trouble; but upon this affair I am so nearly concerned, that if I did not my utmost to prevent it, I should never forgive myself.

I am extremely⁵ obliged to you for your good and kind concern for me and my family. My wife desires your acceptance of her most humble service; my daughter desires the same: they both are sensible of your good wishes for them. I am, with true esteem and respect, dear Sir, your obliged and most affectionate humble servant,
| Oxford.

¹ The letter is printed from Deane Swift, 1768. There is also an undated, untidy draft among the Portland MSS.

² I desire to be one] *Portland*.

³ extremely] very *Portland*.

⁴ the advice of friends] my opinion *Portland*.

⁵ extremely] very much *Portland*.

Swift to Sir James Somerville

7 July 1737

King's Hospital, Dublin

Swift to Sir James Somerville

[Deanery House, 7 July 1737]

My Lord;¹

My ill Health will not permit me to attend Your Lordship and the Board at the Blue-coat Hospital to morrow; I therefore desire Your Lordship to recommend to the Board, Edward Reily, His Father was of this City, and dyed in the Service of the present Earl of Orrery, after having lived fifteen years with the late and present Earl. The Earl of Orrery has a great deal of Merit with this Kingdom having lived some years in it, although he be a Peer of England, and born there.

I have not for severall years recommended one Boy to the Hospital, nor would have done this, if I could have refused any Command to so excellent a Person as his Lordship. | I am with great Respect | My Lord, Your Lordship's | Most obedient and most | humble Servant | Jonath. Swift

Deanry-House | July 7th | 1737

Deane Swift 1765

Swift to Erasmus Lewis

July 23, 1737.

Dear Friend,

While any of those who used to write to me were alive, I always inquired after you. But, since your secretaryship in the Queen's time, I believed you were so glutted with the office, that you had not patience to venture on a letter to an absent useless acquaintance: And I find I owe yours to my Lord Oxford.² The History you mention was written above a year before the Queen's death. I left it with

¹ Sir James Somerville was in 1729 elected M.P. for Dublin. In the year in which this letter was written he was Lord Mayor of Dublin and therefore chairman of the Board of the King's Hospital.

² Lewis's letter of 30 June was clearly prompted by Lord Oxford.

23 July 1737

Swift to Erasmus Lewis

the Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, when I first came over to take this deanry. I returned in less than a month,¹ but the ministry could not agree about the printing it: It was to conclude with the peace. I staid in London above nine months; but, not being able to reconcile the quarrels between those two, I went to a friend in Berkshire, and on the Queen's death came hither for good and all. I am confident you read that History, as this Lord Oxford did, as he owns in his two letters, the last of which reached me not above ten days ago. You know, on the Queen's death, how the peace and all proceedings were universally condemned. This I knew would be done; and the chief cause of my writing was, not to let such a Queen and Ministry lie under such a load of infamy, or posterity be so ill informed, &c. Lord Oxford is in the wrong to be in pain about his father's character, or his proceedings in his Ministry; which is so drawn, that his greatest admirers will rather censure me for partiality; neither can he tell me anything material out of his papers, which I was not then informed of. Nor do I know any body but yourself who could give me more light than what I then received; For I remember I often consulted with you, and took memorials of many important particulars which you told me, as I did of others, for four years together. I can find no way to have the original delivered to Lord Oxford or to you; for the person who hath it will not trust it out of his hands, but, I believe, would be contented to let it be read to either of you, if it could be done without letting it out of his hands, although perhaps that may be too late. If my health would have permitted me, for some years past, to have ventured as far as London, I would have satisfied both my Lord and you. I believe you know that Lord Bolingbroke is now busy in France, to write the history of his own time, and how much he grew to hate the Treasurer you know too well; and I know how much Lord Bolingbroke hates his very memory. This is what the present Lord Oxford should be in most pain at, not about me. I have had my share of affliction sufficient, in the loss of Dr. Arbuthnot, and poor Gay and others; and I heartily pity poor Lord Masham. I would fain know whether his son be a valuable young man; because I much disliked his education. When I was last among you, Sir William Wyndham was in a very bad state of health: I always loved him, and rejoice to hear from you the figure he makes. But I know so little of what passeth, that I never heard of Lady Blandford his present wife.

¹ *Recte* three months.

Lord Bathurst used to write to me, but hath dropped it some years. Pray, is Charles Ford yet alive? For he hath dropped me too; or perhaps my illness hath hindered me from provoking his remembrance: For I have been long in a very bad condition. My deafness, which used to be occasional and for a short time, has stuck by me now several months without remission; so that I am unfit for any conversation, except one or two Stentors of either sex, and my old giddiness is likewise become chronical, although not in equal violence with my former short fits.

I was never so much deceived in any Scot, as by that execrable Lord K[innoul], whom I loved extremely, and now detest beyond expression.

You say so little of yourself, that I know not whether you are in health or sickly, only that you lead a mere animal life; which, with nine parts in ten, is a sign of health. I find you have not, like me, lost your memory; nor, I hope, your sense of hearing, which is the greatest loss of any, and more comfortless than even being blind; I mean in the article of company. Writing no longer amuseth me, for I cannot think. I dine constantly at home, in my chamber, with a grave housekeeper, whom I call *Sir Robert*, and sometimes receive one or two friends, and a female cousin, with strong high tenor voices. I am, &c.

Deane Swift 1768

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

July 23, 1737.¹

Dear Sir,

If I were to tell you who enquire for you, and what they say of you, it would take up more paper than I have in my lodgings, and more time than I stay in town. Yet *London* is empty: not dusty, for we have had rain: not dull, for Mr. *Pope* is in it: not noisy, for we have no cars;² not troublesome, for a man may walk quietly about the streets: in short, 'tis just as I would have it till *Monday*,³ and then I quit *St. Paul's*, for my little church at *Marston*.

¹ Orrery who sailed for England on the 5th had been in London for some time.

² Irish jaunting-cars.

³ 25 July.

23 July 1737

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

Your commands are obeyed long ago. Dr. King has his cargo,¹ Mrs. Barber her conversation,² and Mr. Pope his letters. To-morrow I pass with him at *Twickenham*: the *olim meminisse* will be our feast. Leave *Dublin*, and come to us. Methinks there are many stronger reasons for it than heretofore; at least I feel 'em: and I'll say with *Macbeth*, Would thou could'st!³

My health is greatly mended; so, I hope, is yours: write to me when you can, in your best health, and utmost leisure; never break through that rule. Can friendship increase by absence? Sure it does; at least mine rises some degrees, or seems to rise: try if it will fall by coming nearer: no, certainly it cannot be higher. Yours most affectionately, | Orrery.

Scott 1814

Erasmus Lewis to Swift

London, Aug. 4, 1737

I assure you, my dear Dean, 'twas matter of joy to me to receive a letter from you,⁴ and I hope 'tis an earnest of many more I may have hereafter, before you and I leave this world; though I must tell you, that if you and I revive our former correspondence, you must indulge me the liberty of making use of another hand; for whether it be owing to age, or writing formerly whole nights by candlelight, or to both those causes, my sight is so far impaired, that I am not able, without much pain, to scratch out a letter.

I do not remember ever to have read your history. I own my memory is much decayed; but still I think I could not have forgotten a matter of so much consequence, and which must have given me so great a pleasure. It is fresh in my mind, that Lord Oxford and the Auditor⁵ desired you to confer with me upon the subject matter of it; that we accordingly did so; and that the conclusion was, you would bury every thing in oblivion. We reported this to those two, I mean to his Lordship and his uncle, and they acquiesced in it. Now I find you have finished that piece. I ask nothing but what

¹ *The Four Last Years of the Queen.*

² Swift sent to Mrs. Barber by Orrery his *Polite Conversation*.

³ *Macbeth*, 11. ii. 74.

⁴ 23 July 1737.

⁵ The first Lord Oxford's brother, Edward Harley.

you grant in your letter of July 23d, viz. That your friend shall read it to me, and forbear sending it to the press, till you have considered the objections, if any should be made. In the meantime, I shall only observe to you in general, that three and twenty years, for so long it is since the death of Queen Anne, have made a great alteration in the world, and that what was sense and reason then, is not so now; besides, I am told you have treated some people's characters with a severity which the present times will not bear, and may possibly bring the author into much trouble, which would be matter of great uneasiness to his friends. I know very well it is your intention to do honour to the then treasurer. Lord Oxford knows it: all his family and friends know it; but it is to be done with great circumspection. It is now too late to publish a pamphlet, and too early to publish a history.

It was always my opinion, that the best way of doing honour to the treasurer, was to write a history of the peace of Utrecht, beginning with a short preamble concerning the calamitous state of our debt, and ending with the breaking our army and restoring the civil power; that these great things were completed under the administration of the Earl of Oxford, and this should be his epitaph. Lord Bolingbroke is undoubtedly writing a history, but I believe will not live to finish it, because he takes it up too high, viz. from the Restoration. In all probability he'll cut and slash Lord Oxford. This is only my guess. I don't know it.

As to our private friends, I must tell you, I believe Mr. Mash[am] to be a good young man without any shining qualities. Charles Ford's mistress is his bottle, to which he is so entirely given up, that he and I converse but little, though he is a man of honour, and as such to be respected. Pope is very kind to me and I am vain of it. We meet often, and always remember you. I did so yesterday with Mr. Hare, now Sir Thomas Hare.¹ Poor George Arbuthnot is miserable; he is splenetick to a degree of ——. ² He is going to France to try whether that merry nation will cure him. Lord and Lady Oxford and Lord Masham send you their compliments. As you make a friendly inquiry after my health, I must tell you I feel all the infirmities of age, but less of deafness than of any other. I find some relief in cards, which, I believe, you despise, but they

¹ Thomas Hare, Under-Secretary of State in Bolingbroke's Office. Three times mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*.

² See Lewis's letter to Swift of 30 June, and note.

4 August 1737

Erasmus Lewis to Swift

keep me from thinking, and that is a great benefit. Adieu, dear Dean, and believe me most affectionately yours, | E. L.

Faulkner 1762

Swift to the Corporation of Cork

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen,
Sheriffs, and Common-Council of the City of
Corke.

Deanry-House, Dublin, August 15, 1737.

Gentlemen,

I received from you some Weeks ago, the Honour of my Freedom in a Silver Box,¹ by the Hands of Mr. *Stannard*;² but, it was not delivered to me in as many Weeks more; because, I suppose he was too full of more important Business. Since that Time, I have been wholly confined by Sickness, so that I was not able to return you my Acknowledgment; and, it is with much Difficulty I do it now, my Head continuing in great Disorder. Mr. *Faulkner* will be the Bearer of my Letter, who sets out this Morning for *Corke*.

I could have wished as I am a private Man, that in the Instrument of my Freedom, you had pleased to assign your Reasons for making Choice of me. I know it is a usual Compliment to bestow the Freedom of a City on an Arch-Bishop or Lord-Chancellor, and other Persons of great Titles, merely upon Account of their Stations or Power: But, a private Man, and a perfect Stranger, without Power or Grandeur, may justly expect to find the Motives assigned in the Instrument of his Freedom, on what Account he is thus distinguished. And, yet I cannot discover in the whole Parchment Scrip any one Reason offered. Next, as to the Silver Box, there is not so much as my Name upon it, or any one Syllable to shew it was a Present from your City. Therefore, I have by the Advice of Friends, agreeing with my own Opinion, sent back the Box, and Instrument of Freedom by Mr. *Faulkner*, to be returned to you; leaving to your Choice, whether to insert the Reasons for which you

¹ Writing to Orrery, 31 Mar. 1737, Swift mentions that he had heard of the silver box, but knew nothing more about it.

² Eaton Stannard, at this time Recorder of Dublin, represented the Cork borough of Middleton in the House of Commons.

were pleased to give me my Freedom, or bestow the Box upon some more worthy Person, whom you may have an Intention to Honour,¹ because it will equally fit every Body. | I am, with true Esteem | and Gratitude, Gentlemen, | Your most Obedient, and | Obliged Servant, | Jon. Swift.

Deane Swift 1768

The Mayor of Cork to Swift

Cork, Sept. 14th, 1737.

Reverend Sir,

I am favoured with yours by Mr. *Faulkner*, and am sorry the health of a man, the whole kingdom has at heart, should be so much in danger.

When the box with your freedom was given the Recorder,² to be presented to you, I hoped he would, in the name of the city, have expressed their grateful acknowledgements for the many services the publick has received from you, which are the motives that induced us to make you one of our citizens; and as they will ever remain monuments to your glory, we imagined it needless to make any inscription on the box, and especially as we have no precedents on our books for any such. But, as so great and deserving a patriot merits all distinctions that can be made, I have, by the consent and approbation of the Council, directed the box to you, and hope what is inscribed upon it, although greatly inferior to what your merit is intitled to, will however demonstrate the great regard and respect we have for you,³ on account of the many singular services your pen and your counsel have done this poor country; and am, reverend Sir, your most obedient humble servant, | Thomas Farren, Mayor.

¹ Faulkner has a note: 'In Consequence of this Letter there was an Inscription, and the City Arms of Corke, engraved on the Box, and the Reasons in the Parchment Scrip for presenting him with the Freedom of that City.'

² Stannard.

³ See Gerald Y. Goldberg, *Swift and Contemporary Cork*, Cork, 1967, pp. 93-109.

5 October 1737

Lord Bathurst to Swift

4806

Lord Bathurst to Swift

[Cirencester, 5 October 1737]

Dear Mr Dean

That I often think of y^u is most certain, but if I shou'd write to y^u as often, y^u wou'd think me extreemly troublesome. I was allarm'd some time ago with learning that y^u were much indispos'd, but if later acc^{ts} are to be depended upon y^u are now in perfect health; I shou'd be heartily glad to have that news confirm'd to me by two lines under y^r own hand However I write to y^u now under y^t supposition, for w^{ch} reason I have cutt out a little business for y^u.

That very pretty Epistle w^{ch} y^u writt many years ago to L^d Oxford is printed incorrectly;¹ I have a Copy (of w^{ch} I send y^u a transcript) w^{ch} has some very good lines in it w^{ch} are not in the Printed Copy and besides if y^u will compare it with the Original y^u will find that y^u left off without going thro' the Epistle, the fable of the Country & City mouse is as prettily told as any thing of that kind ever was; possibly if y^u look over y^r Papers y^u may find that y^u finish'd the whole, if not I enjoyn y^u as a task to go thro' with it, & I beg of y^u don't sufferr an imperfect Copy to stand, whilst it is in y^r power to rectifie it | Adieu & doe me the justice to believe me | most faithfully & unalterably y^{rs} | Bathurst

Cirencester 5th Oct^r 1737

Address: To | The Rev^d The Dean of | St Patricks | Dublin

Frank: Free | Bathurst

Postmark: 7 OC

Endorsed by Swift: Oct^{br} 5. 1737 | L^d Bathurst | Answ^d Oct^r 8th | 1737. And addition | to the Poem | of I often wished. | 20 lines added.

¹ The poem to which Bathurst alludes is Swift's imitation of Horace's 'Hoc erat in votis', written at Letcombe in 1714. The poem, as first printed in *Miscellanies. The Last Volume*, 1727, and as reprinted in successive editions of Swift's verse ran to 112 lines. The last 8 lines of the poem, as printed in 1727, have been attributed to Pope, and read as if an addition to the poem. As, however, they appear in a transcript made by Stella, and as they were left standing by Swift in his own copy of Faulkner, they may be accepted as his. In 1738 the poem was published in a folio edition, extended to 221 lines. This version follows that of 1727 for the first 8 lines. Then come 20 lines, 9-28, which are new. [These, accepted as Swift's by Williams, are now more properly assigned to Pope: Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, ii (1967), 742, n. 3.] Lines 133-211 of the poem, as printed in 1738, and consisting for the most part of the fable of the country and the city mouse, are by Pope. See, further, *Poems*, pp. 197-202. The transcript

Royal Irish Academy

Swift to William Walker

[Deanery House, 7 October 1737]

My Lord¹

I entirely forgot yesterday a small Affair, which I did intend to mention to Your Lordship. About six months ago My Lord Orrery desired me to recommend the Son of an old faithfull Servant who is still his Domestick in England, one Catharine Reyley, to be admitted into the blue-coat Hospital. I apply^d accordingly to the late Lord Mayor² very frequently, but could never obtain that Justice: I have been these many Years a Governor of that Hospital, and have recommended fewer boys than perhaps any other Governors, and My Lord Orrery, as he is a most valuable Person in all Respects, as well as a great Friend to this Kingdom, hath a good Title to recommend for so small a Favour.³ The Boys name is Edward Reyley. I have sent him with his Mother, to attend and get one of the Servants to deliver this Letter to Your Lordship, and I hope you will please to order his Admittance this day. He hath been already measured; and is tall enough for the Standard.

I wish Your Lordship Success in your Administration, equall if possible to Your Deserts, and am with | the greatest Respect, | My

sent by Bathurst to Swift was, doubtless, a copy of Pope's manuscript, who was anxious to note Swift's reaction.

¹ This letter was first printed by W. R. Wilde in the second edition of his *Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life*, 1849, pp. 90–91. Wilde states that he was indebted for the letter to James Hardiman. This may be taken to mean that Hardiman, a well-known antiquary and Commissioner of Public Records, knew of the existence of the letter and drew Wilde's attention to it. The letter was presented to the Royal Irish Academy by P. Brophy, who found it among the papers of Mrs. Catherine Walker, and it was printed, but without the inscription to Walker, in the minutes of the Academy, 26 Apr. 1852. These minutes were published in the Academy's *Proceedings*, vol. v, 1850–3.

² William Walker had succeeded Sir James Somerville as Lord Mayor of Dublin.

³ Despite Somerville's disregard of Swift's repeated applications to him the Dean attended the outgoing Lord Mayor's banquet, 29 Sept. 1737. It was on this occasion that the altercation arose between Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh, and Swift, on the question of the lowering of the gold. The incident is described in Swift's poem 'Ay and No', which concludes with a warning to the Primate:

'It's a pity a Prelate should die without law;
But if I say the word—take care of *Armagh!*'

See *Poems*, iii. 841–3.

7 October 1737

Swift to William Walker

Lord, Your Lordship's | most obedient and most | humble Servant
| Jonath: Swift

Deanry-house | Oct^{br} 7th 1737

Address: The Rt. Honble. Wm. Walker | Lord Mayor

Faulkner 1768

Swift to Robert Cope

[Deanery House, 11 November 1737]

Sir,¹

I was just going to write to you, when your clerk brought me your note for thirty-six pounds, which was more by a third part than I desired, and for which I heartily thank you. I have been used since my illness to hear so many thousand lies told of myself and others, and so circumstantially, that my head was almost turned; and if I gave them any credit, it was because one thing I knew perfectly, that we differed entirely in our opinions of public management. I did and do detest the lowering of the gold,² because I saw a resolution seven years old of your House of Commons of a very different nature, and have since seen tracts against it, which to me were demonstration; and am assured, as well as know by experience, that I have not received a penny except from you. However, although I know you to be somewhat of what we call a giber, yet I am convinced by your assertions that I was ill-informed; and yet we differ so much in present politicks, that I doubt it will much affect the goodwill you formerly seemed to bear me. I grant, that the bishops, the people in employments of all kinds who receive salaries, and some others, will not lose a penny, by lowering the money, because

¹ Robert Cope sat as Tory representative for the county of Armagh in Queen Anne's last Irish Parliament. On the accession of George I he could no longer hold that position; but later, by a change of political opinion, he regained his seat and lost Swift's friendship. The payment acknowledged was interest due on a loan to Sir William Fownes, the father of Cope's second wife.

² Swift's standpoint on this matter was mistaken. Silver was at a premium against the value of the gold guinea. As a means of regulating the exchange Boulter proposed a reduction of threepence in the value of the guinea. One of Swift's objections to the measure was a conviction that absentees would benefit. See *Poems*, iii. 841-2.

Swift to Robert Cope

11 November 1737

they must still have their pay; and, if your estate be set much under value, you will be no sufferer, though I, and thousands of others, will soundly feel the smart, and particularly the lower clergy, who I find are out of every body's good graces; but for what reasons I know not. I hear your House is forming a bill against all legacies to the church, or any public charity,¹ which puts me under a great difficulty; because, by my will, I have bequeathed my whole fortune to build and endow an hospital for lunaticks and ideots. I wish I had any certainty in that matter. You mistook me in one expression; what I said was, that I wished all who were for lowering the gold, were lowered to the dust; and I might explain it, so that it would bear the sense of causing them to repent in dust and ashes. I am, Sir, | Your most obedient | humble servant, | J. Swift.

Deanry House | Nov. 11, 1737.

Deane Swift 1768

Viscount Mountjoy to Swift

Nov. 17th, 1737.

Sir,²

I shall, with great pleasure, bring in your petition to-morrow, the house of lords not sitting until then; but I find there is a small mistake in point of form, which will be proper to be set right before the petition shall be presented.

You mention the bill as if it would certainly pass, and be transmitted into *England*; instead of which, I must beg the favour of you to say, that there are heads of a bill depending now before your lordships committee, in order to prevent *℔c. ℔c.* for until such

¹ The English Mortmain Act of 1736 was apparently intended to guard against improvident gifts of land for charitable purposes; and a similar measure was introduced into the Irish House of Commons. See further the following letter.

² The writer of this letter was William Stewart, third Viscount Mountjoy in the peerage of Ireland. In the *Journal to Stella* his father is frequently mentioned. Having succeeded to the estates of his maternal ancestors he was created Earl of Blessington, 7 Dec. 1745. Upon his death, 1769, all his peerage dignities became extinct.

17 November 1737

Viscount Mountjoy to Swift

time as it shall have gone through that, no one can declare the fate of it.

I should not be so impertinent as to pretend to direct you in this, but that I apprehend you did not know the progress the bill has taken; if you will get it writ over again, my servant shall wait to bring it to me, and I shall take care, as soon as the petition is received, to have a clause ready, in pursuance of it, to except your charity.¹ I am, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, | Mountjoy.

4806

Andrew Ramsay to Swift

[29 November [O.S. 18] 1737]

Reverend Sir

I receiv'd only some weeks ago the Works you were pleas'd to send me,² and have perus'd them with a new pleasure. I still find in them all the marks of that original Genius, & universal beneficence which compose your Character. I can to³ send you in return any such valuable composition of mine; but you will receive by the first shipp that go for Ireland my history of the Mareschal de Turenne, the greatest french Hero that ever was.⁴ I shall be glad to know your opinion of the performance. I am with the greatest respect, veneration and friendship. | dear Sir | Your most humble & most obedient | Servant The Chevalier Ramsay.

at Paris Novr 29th | 1737.

pray allow me to assure Mrs Sican of my most humble respects. If you have any commands for me in this Country or for any of your

¹ A petition to be excepted from the Mortmain Bill. The Dublin newspapers record that Swift prayed to be excepted on the ground that he had many years since bequeathed his fortune to charitable uses and the good of the kingdom. In default of exception he would be compelled to send his fortune abroad for the like purposes.

² Through Mrs. Sican and her son, Swift had been reminded of the Chevalier Ramsay and had sent him a set of Faulkner's edition of his *Works*. ³ *Sic*.

⁴ Andrew Ramsay, who had served as tutor to the then Vicomte de Turenne, published in Paris, 1735, in two volumes, *L'Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne*, a biography of the famous Marshal of France, 1611-75. In the same year it appeared in English.

Andrew Ramsey to Swift

29 November 1737

friends, pray direct for me under a Cover a son altesse Monseigneur le Comte d'Evreux General de la Cavallerie a Paris.

Address: Irlande To | The Reverend Dr Swift | Dean of St Patricks | at Dublin. | By London.

Postmark: 28 NO

Endorsed by Swift: Chevalier Ramsy | Rx Dec^{br} 9 | 1737 and
Nov^{br} 29 1737 | New-style. | Cheval^r Ramsay.

Deane Swift 1768

Charles Ford to Swift

November 22d, 1737.

I can't help putting you in mind of me sometimes, though I am sure of having no return.¹ I often read your name in the newspapers, but hardly have any other account of you, except when I happen to see lord *Orrery*. He told me the last time, that you had been ill, but were perfectly recovered.

I hear they are going to publish two volumes more of your works.² I see no reason why all the pamphlets published at the end of the Queen's reign might not be inserted. Your objection of their being momentary things will not hold. *Killing no Murder*,³ and many other old tracts, are still read with pleasure, not to mention *Tully's Letters*, which have not died with the times. My comfort is, they will some time or other be found among my books with the author's name, and posterity obliged with them. I have been driven out of a great house, where I had lodged between four and five years, by new lodgers, with an insupportable noise, and have taken a little one to myself in a little court, merely for the sake of sleeping in quiet. It is in *St. James's-Place*, and called *Little Cleveland-Court*. I believe you never observed it; for I never did, though I lodged very near it, till I was carried there to see the house I have taken. Though coaches come in, it consists of but six houses in all. Mine is

¹ Probably Swift had left Ford's last letter, 8 July 1736, unanswered.

² Volumes V and VI of Faulkner's edition of the *Works* were promised towards the middle of May 1736, but they did not appear till 1738. 'The Publisher's Preface' to these volumes is dated 'April 18, 1738'. The two volumes largely consist of political writings during Oxford's ministry.

³ *Killing Noe Murder. Briefly Discourst in Three Questions*. By William Allen, 1657. The author was Edward Sexby. *D.N.B.*

but two stories high, contrived exactly as I would wish, as I seldom eat at home. The ground-floor is of small use to me; for the fore-parlour is flung into the entry, and makes a magnificent *London* hall. The back one, by their ridiculous custom of tacking a closet almost of the same bigness to it, is so dark, that I can hardly see to read there in the middle of the day. Up one pair of stairs I have a very good dining-room, which on the second floor is divided in two, and makes room for my whole family, a man and a maid, both at board-wages. Over my bed-chamber is my study, the pleasantest part of the house, from whence you have a full view of *Buckingham-house*, and all that part of the *Park*. My furniture is clean and new, but of the cheapest things I could find out. The most valuable goods I have are two different prints of you. I am still in great hopes I shall one day have the happiness of seeing you in it.

Every body agrees the Queen's death was wholly owing to her own fault.¹ She had a rupture, which she would not discover; and the surgeon who opened her navel, declared if he had known it two days sooner, she should have been walking about the next day. By her concealing her distemper, they gave her strong cordials for the gout in her stomach, which did her great mischief. The king is said to have given her the first account of her condition; she bore it with great resolution, and immediately sent for the rest of her children, to take formal leave of them, but absolutely refused to see the prince of *Wales*; nor could the archbishop of Canterbury,² when he gave her the sacrament, prevail on her, though she said, she heartily forgave the prince. It is thought her death will be a loss, at least in point of ease, to some of the ministers.

Since *Lewis* has lost his old wife, he has had an old maiden niece to live with him, continues the same life, takes the air in his coach, dines moderately at home, and sees nobody.

It was reported, and is still believed by many, that Sir *Robert Walpole* upon the loss of his, made Miss *Skirret* an honest woman; but if it be so, the marriage is not yet owned.³

That you may, in health and happiness, see many 30th of *Novembers*, is the most sincere and hearty wish of yours, &c.

¹ Queen Caroline died 20 Nov.

² John Potter, classical scholar. Bishop of Oxford 1715; translated to Canterbury in Feb. 1737.

³ Walpole's first wife, Catherine Shorter, died 20 Aug. 1737. He married Maria Skerett about the beginning of March 1738.

If you will be so kind as to let me hear from you once again, you may either direct to me at the *Cocoa-Tree*, or to *Little Cleveland-Court* in *St. James's Place*.

Portland MSS., B.M. First Deposit

Swift to the Earl of Oxford

[Dublin, 26 November 1737]

My Lord.

I have not for severall Years troubled Your Lordship with an Irish Cause. But I could not refuse the Bearer of this Letter My Lady Riverston,¹ who will deliver you her Case, which is allowed to be a very hard one. What she humbly desires of your Lordship is that you will please to attend when it comes before your House Because I remember very well how hard it used to be to get a Number of Peers to trouble themselves with anything referred to them from Ireland . . . My Lady Riverston is descended from a very antient noble Family and very deserving in her self. Her Ancestors were of the old English who reduced this Kingdom to be Subjects to England, and her Ladyship is a firm Protestant.

I am constantly inquiring after your Lordship's and My Lady Oxford's and the Dutchesses health, from my few remaining Correspondents in London. Pray God continue to them all, long life and Health, and the love of all deserving Persons. I am grown altogether weary of the World, by my years and Infirmityes, and hourly fretted to the Heart by the Course of publick proceedings in both Kingdoms, which cannot be matched by the greatest Corruptions in Rome or Greece. But it is some Comfort that your Lordship still retains the Virtue of Your Ancestors. | I am with the truest Respect | My Lord | Your Lordships most | obedient and obliged | Servant. | J: Swift.

Dublin | Nov^{br} 26th 1737

¹ On 15 Oct. 1687 Thomas Nugent had been appointed Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. The title Lord Nugent of Riverston conferred upon him, 3 Apr. 1689, depended for its validity upon the question whether on that date James II was or was not King of Ireland. He died 2 Apr. 1715. He was succeeded by his son Hyacinth Richard, who styled himself Baron Nugent of Riverston. He had married in 1703 Sussanna Catharina, daughter of Sir Tristram Beresford, and Swift's interest in her was due to her being a step-sister of Lady Howth.

26 November 1737

Swift to the Earl of Oxford

I desire to present my most humble Respects to my Lady Oxford, with acknowledgement of the highest gratitude for all her Favours.

Endorsed by Lord Oxford: R by Lord Riverston. Janu. 20. 1737

Pierpont Morgan Library

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

[26 November 1737]

My Dear Lord.¹

I have the honor to have heard often from you; but never a Direction where to find you. 'There is a certain Lady I am much in Love with, her Name is my Lady Howth: She hath a half Sister, who is wife to My Lord Riverston.' This Lord Riverston '(whose name is Nugent)' is like wise a Protestant. But 'he hath a Brother one Nugent who is a rank Papist, and hath been at Law with his Brother Riverston.'² The Courts have determined the Cause fully in Favour of My Lady Riverston; But Nugent the Brother hath appealed¹ against the Decision here, to the House of Lords in England. My Lady Riverston who hath been some years in France, and came back a firm Protestant, goes to England to morrow, with a Design to defeat that Appeal. I have writ to three Lords of my Acquaintance in her Behalf; My Lord Carteret, the E. of Oxford, and my Lord Bathurst. And 'all I desire of You' or them 'is to attend at the Hearing, although it be an Irish Cause, which You English Peers seldom think worth Your Notice:' My Lady Riverston will present her Case to Your Lordship; and, attend you must and shall, but give your Vote as Justice directs. The poor Lady hath been extreamly persecuted upon this Affair, but all I desire from you is to attend, and bring your Friends of the Peerage to accompany You.

We have been without any Packet many days, and your Spleenatick folks are in great Pain about the Queen's Death.

'I am grown an entire Ghost of a Ghost of what I was, although you left me ill enough. Pray God bless you in every Circumstance of your self, your Family and Fortune

¹ The letter is headed by Lord Orrery 'Nov^{br} 26. 1737. | N^o 17'. An extract from the letter was printed by Craik, *Life of Swift*, ii. 347. Ball prints that portion of the letter here enclosed within half-brackets.

² See note on previous letter.

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

26 November 1737

I could tell you a Million of Things relating to this Country: Of the great plenty of Money by the Primates Project of the lowering of the Gold,¹ which it's youngr brother Silver hath followed, and neither have been seen since. I could be more large upon both Houses and all their good Actions. Pray send me a Silver Sixpence by the first opportunity.

Pray God preserve you and your Family, my Dear Lord and may you live till Christian Times.² I am ever with the utmost Friendship, Love Esteem and Respect Yours. | J:S

¹If you see my friend Pope say I will answer his last Lett^r soon Pray write to your Cork Agents to send me a Shilling to keep my Christmas day.

Our Lords and Commons here have shewn their true Love of the Country in every Proceeding, although some disaffected people have not sense enough to find it out; but I am busy at endeavoring to discover it by my Loyalty.

Nov^{br} 26. 1737

Pray God preserve you and your fire-side to what disaffected People call better Times.

4806

Lord Bathurst to Swift

Scarcliffe farm 6th Dec^r 1737

Dear S^r

I received a letter² from y^u at Ciciter full of life & spirit w^{ch} gave me singular satisfaction;³ but those complaints y^u make of the deplorable state of Ireland made me reflect upon the condition of England, and I am inclin'd to think it is not much better, possibly the only difference is that we shall be last devour'd. I have attended Parl^{ts} many years, and never found that I cou'd doe any good;

¹ See note on Swift's letter to Robert Cope, 11 Nov. 1737.

² Four times in this letter Bathurst uses 'Lre' for 'letter'.

³ Swift's endorsement (p. 69 *ante*) on Bathurst's last letter, written from Cirencester 5 October, that he had replied from Dublin only three days later, is doubtless in error as to the day, or the month.

6 December 1737

Lord Bathurst to Swift

I have therefore enter'd upon a new Scheme of life, & am determin'd to look after my own affairs a little, I am now in a small Farm-House in Darby Shire, & my chief business is to take care that my Agents don't impose upon my tenants. I am for letting them all good bargains that my Rents may be pay'd as long as any rents can be pay'd, & when the time comes that there is no money, they are honest fellows & will bring me in w^t corn & cattle I shall want. I want no foreign comodities, my neighbour the D.^y of Kingston has imported one, but I don't think it worth the Carriage.¹ I passt thro' London in my way here, & every body wonder'd I cou'd leave them when they were so full of speculations upon the great event w^{ch} lately happen'd² but I am of opinion some time will be necessary to produce any consequences, some consequences will certainly follow but time must ripen matters for them. I cou'd send you many speculations of my own & others upon this subject, but it is too nice a Subject for me to handle in a post-letter, it is not every body who ought to have the liberty of abusing their Superiours, if a man has so much wit as to gett the Majority of mankind of his side he is often safe, or if he is known to have talents that can make an abuse stick close he is still safer. y^u may say where is the occasion of abusing any body. I never did in my life? but y^u have often told truth of Persons, who wou'd rather y^u had abus'd them in the Grossest manner.

I may say in Parl^t that we are impoverish'd at home, & render'd contemptible abroad, because no body will care to call upon me to prove it, but I don't know whether I may venture to put that in a letter at least in a letter to a disaffected person, such y^u will be reputed as long as y^u live, after y^r death perhaps y^u may stand Rectus in Curia. I mett our friend Pope in town, he is as sure to be there in a bustle, as a Porpus in a Storm, he told me that he wou'd retire to Twitnam for a fortnight but I doubt it much. Since I found by y^r last that y^r hand and y^r head are both in so good a Condition lett me hear from y^u sometimes, & don't be discourag'd that I send y^u nothing worth reading now, I have talkt with no body for some time together but Farmers & Plowmen, when I come into good Company again I may possibly be less insipid, but in w^t ever condition I am, I shall always be most ambitious of y^r freindship, &

¹ The allusion is to Evelyn Pierrepont, second Duke of Kingston. The importation was Madame La Touche, a French Lady.

² The death of Queen Caroline on 20 Nov.

Lord Bathurst to Swift

6 December 1737

most desirous of y^r Esteem, being most faithfully & sincerely | Dear
S^r | y^r obedient humble serv^t | Bathurst

Endorsed by Swift: L^d Bathurst | Rx Dec^{br} 21. 1737 | *and* Lord Bathurst |
Dec^{br} | [2]1 | 1737. | To answer.

Faulkner 1762

Swift to George Faulkner

Deanry-House, Dec. 15, 1737.

Mr. Faulkner,

The short Treatise that I here send you inclosed, was put into my Hands by a very worthy Person, of much antient Learning, as well as Knowledge in the Laws of both Kingdoms.¹ He is likewise a most loyal Subject to King *George*, and wholly attached to the *Hanover* Family; and, is a Gentleman of as many Virtues, as I have any where met. However, it seems, he cannot be blind or unconcerned at the mistaken Conduct of his Country in a Point of the highest Importance to it's Welfare. He hath learnedly shewn from the Practice of all wise Nations in past and later Ages, that Tillage was the great Principle and Foundation of their Wealth, and recommends the Practice of it to this Kingdom with the most weighty Reasons. He mentions the prodigious Sums sent out Yearly for importing all Sorts of Corn, in the miserable Money less Condition we now are in. To which I can not but add, that in reading the Resolutions of this last Sessions, I have observed in several Papers that the Honourable House of Commons seem to be of the same Sentiment, although the Encrease of Tillage may be of Advantage to the Clergy, whom I conceive to be as loyal a Body of Men to the present King and Family as any in the Nation: And, by the great Providence of God, it is so ordered, that if the Clergy be fairly dealt with, whatever increaseth their Maintenance will more

¹ Alexander Macaulay. The treatise to which Swift refers was printed under the title of *Some Thoughts on the Tillage of Ireland*. A brief prefatory letter by Swift professed that the manuscript had reached Faulkner 'by some unknown Hand'. The circumstances attending the publication were thus concealed from the public. Swift's regard for Macaulay led him to appoint him one of his executors, and bequeath to him the gold box in which the freedom of the city of Dublin had been presented to him.

15 December 1737

Swift to George Faulkner

largely increase the Estates of the landed Men, and the Profits of their Farmers.

I desire you, Mr. *Faulkner*, to print the following Treatise in a fair Letter, and a good Paper. | I am your faithful Friend | And Servant, | Jon. Swift.

Clancy's Memoirs 1750

Swift to Michael Clancy

[Deanery House, Christmas-Day 1737]

Sir,¹

Some Friend of mine lent me a Comedy, which I am told was written by you: I read it carefully, and with much Pleasure, on Account both of the Characters, and the Moral. I have no Interest with the People of the Play-house, else I should gladly recommend it to them. I send you a small Present, in such Gold as will not give

¹ Michael Clancy's father, 'a military man' according to his son, in or about the year 1716 sent the boy to school in Paris. An escapade led him to run away. In time he succeeded in finding his way back to Ireland. He appears to have continued his schooling at Kilkenny College. On 6 June 1721 he was entered as a sizar at Trinity College. He does not appear to have taken a degree, and in 1724 we find him back in France. His experiences on the Continent are related in *The Memoirs of Michael Clancy, M.D.*, published in two octavo volumes in Dublin in 1750. The memoirs, however, end abruptly in the second volume to afford space for *The Sharper. A Comedy*, which, with separate title and pagination, occupies the last 86 pages of vol. ii. On the title-pages of his various books Clancy describes himself as M.D. No certain information is available of his graduation in any university; but presumably he practised in Dublin, for he was patronized by Dr. Helsham, and he tells us in the preface to 'The Sharper' that 'the author, in the year 1737, had the misfortune of losing his sight by a cold, which rendered him incapable of his profession'. Clancy has an amusing account of the difficulty he had in bringing his play to the notice of Swift. At last Dr. James Grattan agreed to leave the manuscript on the Dean's table in the hope that he would assist in securing its production at the theatre. Some days later Helsham saw the book lying on the table and asked what it was. 'The Dean smiled and told him, it was a villain well painted, and that whoever had written the piece, conveyed a good moral.' Helsham then told him about the author, with the result that the letter of Christmas Day, 1737, was written.

The Sharper was a comedy in five acts, which concerns the notorious Colonel Francis Chartres, the subject of Arbuthnot's famous epitaph. See further 'Michael Clancy, M.D.', by T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick, in *The Irish Journal of Medical Science*, Oct. 1938; and Wilson's *Swiftiana*, i. 205-6.

Swift to Michael Clancy

Christmas Day 1737

you Trouble to change; for I much pity your Loss of Sight, which if it pleased God to let you enjoy, your other Talents might have been your honest Support, and have eased you of your present Confinement. I am, Sir, | Your well-wishing Freind, | and Humble Servant, | Jonath. Swift.

Deanry-house, Christmas-Day, 1737.

I know not who lent me the Play, if it came from you, I will send it back tomorrow. This Letter, and the Pacquet,¹ are sealed with the Head of *Socrates*.

Deane Swift 1768

Lady Howth to Swift

December 26th, 1737.

Dear Sir,

Knowing you to be very poor, I have sent you a couple of wild ducks, a couple of partridge, a side of venison, and some plover, which will help to keep your house this *Christmas*. You may make a miser's feast, and drink your blue-eyed Nymph in a bumper, as we do the Drapier;² and when these are out, let me know, and you shall have a fresh supply. I have sent them by a blackguard, knowing you to be of a very generous temper, though very poor: My lord and husband joins with me in wishing you a merry *Christmas*, and many of them; and am sincerely your affectionate friend and Sea-nymph.

If I signed my name, and the letter should be found, you and I might be suspected.

¹ 'The Pacquet contained five Pounds, in small Pieces of Gold, of different Kinds, of which the largest did not exceed the Value of five Shillings. A little Time after, I sent him a parcel of Tickets, he kept but one, which he said he had paid for, and afterwards sent me two Four Pound Pieces for more.' Ball prints only the first sentence of this note by Clancy.

² Bindon's portrait of Swift at Howth Castle would serve to keep him in mind in the character of the Drapier. He holds in his hands a scroll on which is written—'The Fourth Drapier's Letter'. At his feet, to the right, Wood lies bound in agony. A reproduction of this portrait appears in vol. iv of Temple Scott's edition of Swift's *Prose Works*; and an account of the portrait, by Sir Frederick Falkner, will be found in vol. xii of the same series, pp. 25-27.

27 December 1737

Deane Swift 1768

Michael Clancy to Swift

Michael Clancy to Swift

December 27th, 1737.

Reverend Sir,

When I strive to express the thorough sense I have of your humanity and goodness, my attempt ceases in admiration of them. You have favoured my performance with some degree of approbation, and you have considered my unfortunate condition by a mark of your known benevolence: from my very soul I sincerely thank you. That approbation, which in some more happy periods of my life would have made me proud even to vanity, has now in my distress comforted and soothed my misery.

If I did not fear being troublesome, I should do myself the honour of waiting upon you, if you will be pleased to permit me to do so. At any time I am ready to obey your command; and am, with the utmost respect and gratitude, Sir, your most obliged humble servant, | Mic. Clancy.

Faulkner 1762

Swift to George Faulkner

Deanry-House, Dublin, January 6, 1737-8.

Sir,

I have often mentioned to you an earnest Desire I had and still have, to record the Merit and Services of the Lord-Mayor, *Humphrey French*, whom I often desired after his Mayoralty to give me an Account of many Passages that happened in his Mayoralty, and which he as often put off on the Pretence of his Forgetfulness, but in Reality of his Modesty:¹ I take him to be a Hero in his Kind, and that he ought to be imitated by all his Successors, as far as their Genius can reach; I desire you therefore to enquire among all his Friends, whom you are acquainted with, to press them to give you the Particulars of what they can remember, not only during the

¹ Humphrey French, elected Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1732, had recently died. Swift's projected tribute to him never reached fruition. Verses printed at the end of *The Presbyterians Plea of Merit*, 1733, in honour of French, have been attributed to Swift, and have found their way into editions of the *Works*. The attribution is, however, difficult to justify. See *Poems*, pp. 242, 1132-3.

general Conduct of his Life, wherever he had any Power or Authority in the City; but particularly, from Mr. *Maple*,¹ who was his intimate Friend, who knew him best, and could give the most just Character of himself and his Actions.

When I shall have got a sufficient Information of all these Particulars, I will, although I am oppressed with Age and Infirmities, stir up all the little Spirit I can raise, to give the Public an Account of that great Patriot; and propose him as an Example to all future Magistrates, in order to recommend his Virtues to this miserable Kingdom. | I am, | Sir, | Your very humble | Servant, | Jon. Swift.

Rothschild

Miss Katharine Richardson to Swift

[Summerseat, 10 January 1737-8]

Sir²

one who has no other Idea of you but from your writings and Hearsay, has taken it into her head she can make shirts that will fit you, you will it is probable think the undertaking very whimsical and the head such a thought could enter into, to be of the family of the wrongheads. I will not dispute that matter with you untill you shall have tryed whether I have succeeded. if I have, I entreat

¹ William Maple was a chemist, and acted as registrar to the then newly formed Dublin Society. During the inquiries held by the Irish House of Commons as to Wood's coinage, he was summoned to give evidence as to the composition of the metal, and possibly by his testimony recommended himself to Swift. He is said to have attained to the age of a hundred and four years.—Ball.

² This letter was at one time in the possession of Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore. On the verso of the second leaf the following note appears in his hand: 'The Dean's answer to this is printed in his Works, 1766, Vol. XVII. Lett^r 69. p. 255—Miss Richardson's Reply to that Lett^r is printed by Deane Swift. Vol. VI Lett^r 156 p. 148. See another Letter of her's Ibid. Lett^r 169. p. 164. This Miss Richardson was Sister of W^m Richardson of Summerseat Esq, who M^{rs} Caldwell thinks was Uncle of Rev D^r Richardson Fellow of Trin. Coll. & afterw^ds R. of Clonfech near Moy in y^e Co. of Tyrone.' The letter came up for sale, Alfred Morrison, part iii, Sotheby, 10 Dec. 1918. Afterwards Maggs and Tregaskis. Ball states that the lady addressing Swift was probably a daughter of the Rev. John Richardson, although she resided with her uncle William Richardson. This does not agree with Bishop Percy's note, which, however, is at fault in describing Miss Richardson as a sister of William. According to Ball she died two years later. The letter is now in Lord Rothschild's Library, no. 1743.

10 January 1737-8

Miss Katharine Richardson to Swift

you will doe me the Honour to wear half a Duzen that will wait on you by a Porter for you may doe it with safety although they goe from a female to the Hercules of the age. They wait upon you from one extremely desirous of an opportunity of being in the Company and hearing the Conversation of an author that writes as I believe no man ever did before him, or perhaps ever will again. I once had hopes to have that Curiosity gratified but as I now fear it is not likely to happen and that I believe you have so much Honour as not to expose a Lady that puts hers in your power I will conceal no longer from you that I am not only an admirer of yours but one of those that admire you the most. at the same time I must beg you will believe that I blush at every word I say to you excepting when I assure you, that I am with the highest Esteem, Sir, your humble and | obedient Servant | Kath: Richardson

Sumerseat 10th Jan^{ry} 1737

Address: To | The Reverend Doc^{tr} Swift Dean of | S^t Patricks at the Deanery House in | Dublin

Endorsed by Swift: Miss Richardson. I accept her as my | Mistress, because she did her Duty in making the | first advances | R. Janry 13th 1737-8 and again Miss Richardson | Jan. 10th 1737-8—

Huntington Library HM 14386

Swift to John Barber

[Dublin, 17 January 1737-8]

My dear old Friend

I have for almost three years past, been onely the Shadow of my former self, with Years and Sickness and Rage against all publick Proceedings, especially in this miserable oppressed Country; I have entirely lost my memory, except when it is rouzed by perpetuall subjects of Vexation: M^r Richardson who is Your Manager in Your Society of Londonderry, tells me he hears you are in tolerable Health, and good Spirits, I lately saw him, and he said he intended soon to wait on You in London. He is a Gentleman of very good Abilites, and a Member of Parliament here; He comes often to Town, and then I never fayl of seeing him at the Deanry where we constantly drink Your Health. I have not been out of Doors further than my Garden, for severall Months, and unless the

Summer will assist me, I believe there will be the end of My Travells. Our friend Lewis has writ to me once or twice, and makes the same Complaints that I do, so that you are the Healthiest Person of the three. I luckily call to mind an affair that many of my Friends have pressed me to. There is a Church Living in your Gift, and upon Your Society Lands,¹ which is now possessed by one Doct^r Squire,² who is so decayd, that he cannot possibly live a Month, This Living I am told is about 120^l or something more a year; I remember I got it for him by the Assistance of S^r W^m Withers³ and you . . . And since it is now likely to be so soon vacant, I insist upon it, that if D^r Squire dyes, You will bestow it to M^r Willi^{am} Dunkin, a Clergyman upon whose Character I have lately taken him into my favour, He is a Gentleman of much Wit, and the best English as well as Latin Poet in this Kingdom: He hath a 100^l a year from our University, to be continued till he is provided for. He is a pious, regular man, highly esteem^d, but our Bishops, like yours, have little regard for such Accomplishments, while they have any Dunces of Nephews or Cousins. I therefore Charge you to use your Influence and Authority, that M^r Dunkin may have this Church-Living upon the decease of Doct^r Squire; Because you know, that my Talent was a little (or rather too much) turned to Poetry; but he is wiser than I, because he writes no Satyrs, whereby you know well enough how many great People I disoblighd, and suffered by angering great People in Favour. Farewell my Dear Friend of near thirty years standing, How many Friends have we lost since our Acquaintance began! I desire you will present my most humble Service and Respect to My Lord and Lady Oxford. I am ever with great affection and Esteem | Dear S^r Your most obedient humble | Serv^t | J Swift

My kind Love and | Service to M^r Pope when you | see him, and to my old true | Friend and Yours M^r Lewis.

Dublin. Jan^r. 17th. 1737-8

To shew my Memory gone, I wrote this Letter a week ago and thought it was sent till I found it this Morning, which is Jan [2] 8th 1737-8—⁴

¹ Coleraine.

² The Rev. Thomas Squire, previously a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

³ M.P. for the City of London.

⁴ The date is in part effaced by a hole in the paper.

28 January 1737-8

Swift to Miss Katharine Richardson

Deane Swift 1765

Swift to Miss Katharine Richardson

January 28. 1737-8.

Madam,

I must begin my correspondence by letting you know that your uncle is the most unreasonable person I was ever acquainted with; and next to him, you are the second, although I think impartially that you are worse than he. I never had the honour and happiness of seeing you, nor can ever expect it, unless you make the first advance by coming up to town, where I am confined by want of health; and my travelling days are over. I find you follow your uncle's steps, by maliciously bribing a useless man, who can never have it in his power to serve or divert you. I have indeed continued a very long friendship with Alderman Barber, who is governour of the London-society about your parts; whereupon Mr. Richardson came to the Deanry, although it was not in my power to do him the least good office, further than writing to the Alderman. However, your uncle came to me several times; and, I believe after several invitations, dined with me once or twice. This was all the provocation I ever gave him; but he had revenge in his breast, and you shall hear how he gratified it. First, he was told, that my ill stomach, and a giddiness I was subject to, forced me, in some of those fits, to take a spoonful of usquebaugh: He discovered where I bought it, and sent me a dozen bottles, which cost him three pounds. He next was told, that as I never drank malt-liquors, so I was not able to drink Dublin-claret without mixing it with a little sweet Spanish wine: He found out the merchant with whom I deal, by the treachery of my butler, and sent me twelve dozen pints of that wine, for which he paid six pounds. But what can I say of a man, who, some years before I ever saw him, was loading me every season with salmons, that surfeited myself and all my visiters? Whereby it is plain that his malice reached to my friends as well as myself. At last, to complete his ill designs, he must needs force his niece into the plot; because it can be proved that you are his prime minister, and so ready to encourage him in his bad proceedings, that you have been his partaker and second in mischief, by sending me half a dozen of shirts, although I never once gave you the least cause of displeasure. And, what is yet

worse, the few ladies that come to the Deanry assure me, they never saw so fine linen, or better worked up, or more exactly fitted. It is a happiness they were not stockings, for then you would have known the length of my foot. Upon the whole, Madam, I must deal so plain as to repeat, that you are more cruel even than your uncle; to such a degree, that if my health and a good summer can put it in my power to travel to Summer-Seat, I must take that journey on purpose to expostulate with you for all the unprovoked injuries you have done me. I have seen some persons who live in your neighbourhood, from whom I have inquired into your character; but I found you had bribed them all, by never sending them any such dangerous presents: For they swore to me, that you were a lady adorned with all perfections, such as virtue, prudence, wit, humour, excellent conversation, and even good housewifery; which last is seldom the talent of ladies in this kingdom. But I take so ill your manner of treating me, that I shall not believe one syllable of what they said, until I have it by letter under your own hand. Our common run of ladies here dare not read before a man, and much less dare to write, for fear (as their expression is) of being exposed. So that when I see any of your sex, if they be worth mending, I beat them all, call them names, until they leave off their follies, and ask pardon. And therefore, because princes are said to have long hands, I wish I were a prince with hands long enough to beat you at this distance, for all your faults, particularly your ill treatment of me. However, I will conclude with charity. May you never give me cause to change, in any single article, the opinion and idea I have of your person and qualities. May you very long continue the delight of your uncle and your neighbours round, who deserve your good-will, and of all who have merit enough to distinguish you. I am, with great respect and the highest esteem, | Madam, | Your most obedient and | Most obliged humble servant.

2 February 1737-8

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

Pierpont Morgan Library

Swift and Mrs. Whiteway to the Earl of Orrery

[Dublin, 2 February 1737-8]

[SWIFT]

My dear Lord¹

I have read in a Letter writ by your Lordship to one of your friends here (I forget the Name); That you hear *of* me, but not *from* me. 'It is out of meer Conscience that I treat you thus; For I have been many months the Shadow of the Shadow of the Shadow, of &c &c &c of Dr Sw— Age, Giddyness, Deafness, loss of Memory, Rage and Rancour against Persons and Proceedings, (I have not recovered a twentyeth part) (I nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros)¹ I forced Mrs Whiteway against the grain to give you some account of me, but I did not see her Letter; And yet she is one whom I should more value if she were not a Cousin, and the onely one (except her Daughter) whom I can endure in my Sight.

'I complain of Your Lordship upon one Article. Mr^s Whiteway assures me, That a correct Copy of the History of the four last years &c, was put into your hands to be given to Doc^{tr} King of St^t Mary Hall in Oxford, to be published as he could agree with some Bookseller or Printer;² but I have never heard a Word from the Doctor since. How will you answer this My dear Lord? This Proceeding is directly against all the Rules of Justice, Honor, Friendship and Conscience. My chief Design in that History was with the utmost Truth and Zeal to defend the Proceedings of that blessed Queen and her Ministry, as well as my self, who had a greater share than usually falls to men of my Level. I did thorough the whole Treatise impartially adhere to Truth: I had some Regard to increase my own Reputation, and besides, I should have been glad to have seen my small Fortune increased by honest means. I therefore insist that [your] Lordship would please, if Your Time and Leisure permit, to see Doctor King, and desire he would explain himself concerning his long Silence, and his very slow or *no* proceedings in a point which I have so much at heart for a hundred Reasons. I believe you sometimes see my Friend Mr Pope: Pray

¹ The letter is headed by Orrery, 'Feb^{ry} 2^d 1737/8 | N^o 18'. An extract is printed by Craik, *Life*, ii. 348, incorrectly dated 22 Feb. Ball prints only those portions of the letter printed within half-brackets.

² See Orrery's letter to Swift of 23 July 1737.

report to him the State of my health, and the Disposition of my Mind, that I am become good for less than nothing. He is one of the oldest and dearest Friends I have remaining.¹ You shall not *have* a Syllable of Irish news from me; for it is none, that 'we have not an ounce of Silver nor any Gold¹ but four Pound pieces, since the Reduction of gold, which the Contrivers now are ashamed of; but more ashamed to own it. I hear that Primate Bolter is to be first Minister at Your Court, we have shipt off all our English Politicians to vote for the Pr of W—ls's Revenue. Dr Delany preached an excellent loyal Sermon on the Martyrdom day, without any trimming, which makes people think he hath given up all further Schemes of Preferment.

[MRS. WHITEWAY]

'Do not mind what the Dean says, for Gold is as plenty in Ireland as Good Sense; Silver as Wit, and Humour much of the same Standard with our Brass.—'

[SWIFT]

'My Lord, I just stept out for a Minute, and found the four above lines written by M^{rs} Whiteway, who agrees with me in no one Opinion except her Veneration for your Lordship,¹ and a hearty Detestation of present Proceedings.

'Do you know my old Friend Erasmus Lewis? if so, I desire your Lordship will present him with my true Love and Esteem: And, if my Lord Bathurst be one of your Acquaintance let him know how gratefull I desire to be for the continuall marks of his Favor and Friendship: Thus I treat you my Lord, in the Phrase of Plautus as one of my Pueri Salutigeruli.¹ I heartily wish you could prevail on the D. of Chandos to bestow us his Collection of old Records and other Papers relating to Ireland;² which he seemed to promise, but he seemed also to treat me when I was come to Ireland, as if he had no Acquaintance with me: I find it so hard to part with Your Lordship, that I grow troublesom and tedious, and besides I had not considered, that your Letters cost you nothing, so that I will be

¹ More than seven years before Swift had alluded to the phrase in writing to Bathurst, and the mention of his name seems to have recalled the allusion.

² See Swift's letter to the Duke of Chandos of 31 Aug. 1734, in which this request was first presented. The Duke sent no reply.

2 February 1737-8

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

at the Expence of an Envelope, as thrifty as I am of Paper: Farewell my most Dear Lord. May you be always the Person you are, but with constant health, and with more money; You want nothing more from heaven, Det vitam, det opes, animum tibi aequum ipse parasto. | I am with the utmost Respect | Esteem and Affection, My most dear | Lord. Your Lordship's most obedient | and obliged humble Servant | J: Swift.

Dublin. Febr. 2^d 1737.—

4806

Andrew Ramsay to Swift

[At Paris, 20 February [O.S. 9] 1737-8]

Rev^d Sir

I send you here Inclosd the bill of Loading for the small box of books I wrote of to you some months ago.¹ I shall be glad to hear you receivd them, much more to know if the perusal pleasd you, no man having a higher Idea of your Talents, Genius, & Capacity than he who is with great respect | Rev^d Sir | your most humble & most | obedient servant | A Ramsay.

at paris febr'y | 20th 1738.

Address: Irlande To | The Rev^d D^r Swift Dean | of St Patricks | Dublin

Postmark: 20 FE

Endorsed by Swift: Rx^{ca} Febr. 26. 1737-8 | Febr. 26. 1737 | Chevalier | Chevalier Ramsay.

Deane Swift 1768

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Duke-Street, Westminster, Feb. 14th, 1737-8.

Madam,

I must answer a letter I never received. The Dean tells me you wrote to me;² but the seas, or the postmasters, are in possession of the manuscript. Should it fall into *Curl*'s hands, it may come into

¹ See Ramsay's letter to Swift of 29 Nov. [O.S. 18] 1737.

² A letter which has not survived, but is mentioned p. 89 *ante*.

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

14 February 1737-8

print, which will give me a happy opportunity of letting the world know how much I am your admirer and servant.

I agree intirely with the person who writes three or four paragraphs in the Dean's letter. Humour and wit are, like gold and silver, in great plenty in *Ireland*; nor is there any body that wants either but that abominable Dean, the bane of all learning, sense, and virtue. I wish we had him here to punish him for his various offences, particularly for his abhorrence of the dear dear fashions of this polite age. Pray, madam, send him, and you will hear what a simple figure he will make among the great men of our island, who are every day improving themselves in all valuable qualities and noble principles.

I rejoice to hear your fair daughter is in health. I am, to her and you, a most obedient humble servant, | Orrery.

Deane Swift 1768

Miss Katharine Richardson to Swift

Summerseat, Feb. 23d, 1737-8.

Sir,

I was favoured some time ago with your most obliging letter,¹ wherein you are pleased to say so many civil things to me, that I have been altogether at a loss how to make proper acknowledgements for the honour you have done me. The commendations you are so good as to bestow upon me, would make my vanity insufferable to my neighbours, if I were not conscious that I do not deserve them; and although I shall always account it a great unhappiness to me that I never have been in your company, yet this advantage I have from it, that my faults are unknown to you. If I have anything commendable about me, I sincerely own myself indebted to you for it, having endeavoured as much as I could to model myself by the useful instructions that are to be gathered from your Works; for which my sex in general (although I believe some of them do not think so) is highly obliged to you. The opinion you are pleased to entertain of me, I fancy is owing to my uncle's partiality, who has frequently been so kind as to take pains to make persons unacquainted with me think better of me than afterwards they found

¹ 28 Jan. 1737-8.

23 February 1737-8

Miss Katharine Richardson to Swift

I deserved. I have great reason to complain of his treatment in this particular; but in all others I have met with so much kindness from him, that I must think it my duty to lay hold of every opportunity that falls in my way to oblige him. Sir, you have it in your power to give me one, by making him a visit at *Summerseat*, where all the skill I have in house-keeping should be employed to have everything in that manner that would be most pleasing to you, which I know is the most agreeable service I could do for him. You are pleased to wish in your letter that you had hands long enough to beat me. What an honour and happiness would I esteem it, to be thought worthy of your correction! But I fear you would find my faults so numerous, that you would think me one of those ladies that do not deserve to be mended.

Your letter would have given me the greatest pleasure of any thing I have ever met with, had it not been for the complaints you make of your health, which give me a most sensible concern, as they ought to do everybody that has any regard for this kingdom. I hope the good weather will set you right, and that the summer will induce you to visit this northern part of the world. I fear I have by this time tired out your patience with female impertinence, and given you too great reason to change the favourable thoughts you did me the honour to entertain of me; I will forbear to be longer troublesome to you, only I beg leave to add my best wishes for your good health, that you may live many years to be a blessing to mankind in general, and this country in particular. I am, with the highest esteem, and greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, | Kath. Richardson.

John Rylands Library

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

[London, 2 March 1737-8]

Madam¹

I came to Town on monday night, and yesterday morning I waited on my Lord Orrery, who surprised me not a little, when he told me,

¹ This letter, preserved in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, English MS. 659, was first printed in *The Library*, xvi. 70 (June 1935).

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

2 March 1737-8

the Dean had never heard from me, since I received the M.S.¹ The next day after my Lord O. delivered it to me, I wrote to the Dean under cover to you. I wrote to him again from Oxford the beginning of December, to acquaint him with some difficulties I was under in respect to the publication, and to desire my orders. But if you have not received my Letters I need not wonder, I have had no answer. I cannot conceive, why my correspondence should have been thus interrupted, since it related wholly to an affair, which our great M—rs² (as I am informed) are willing to advance. However in hopes, that this Letter may get to your hands, I will not give any cause of offence. I will seal with black Wax, and you shall pay the postage for nothing: Unless you will think it worth six-pence to be told, that I will send you a packet by a friend of mine (a neighbour of Dr Delany's) who is to leave this place in a day or two, and who will not fail to deliver it to you as soon as he shall set his foot in Dublin. Believe me to be | Madam | Your most Humble and | Most obedient servant | WK

London | 2 March 1737/8

Polite Conversation is just | published |

Address: To M^{rs} Whiteway at | her House in | Abbey Street | Dublin

Faulkner 1762

Swift to George Faulkner

March 8, 1737-8.

Sir,³

Some of my Friends wonder very much at your delaying to publish that Treatise of *Polite Conversation*, &c. when you so often desired that I should hasten to correct the several Copies, you sent me, which as ill as I have been, and am still, I dispatched as fast as I got them. I expect you would finish it immediately, and send it to me;

¹ The manuscript of the *Four Last Years of the Queen*.

² Ministers.

³ As appears from this letter, Swift did not intend that Mrs. Barber should have the sole right of publishing his *Polite Conversation*, and had arranged with Faulkner that an Irish edition should appear simultaneously with the English one.—Ball. The English edition was printed for Motte and Bathurst by Samuel Richardson. See *Samuel Richardson: Master Printer*, by William M. Sale, pp. 115, 208.

8 March 1737-8

Swift to George Faulkner

I hope you have observed all the Corrections. I hear you have not above four or five Pages remaining: I find, People think you are too negligent, and if you delay longer, what you fear, may come to pass, that the *English* edition may come over before you have your own ready. | I am your humble Servant, | Jon. Swift.

Huntington Library 14387

Swift to John Barber

[Dublin, 9 March 1737-8]

My dear old constant Friend.

I received Yours of Feb^{ry} 11th, and find with great Pleasure, that we preserve the same mutuall Affection we ever professed, as well as the same Principles in Church and State. As to what you hint as if I were not cautious enough in making Recommendations, you know I have conversed too long with Ministers to offend upon that Article;¹ which I never did but once, and that when I was a Beginner. You may remember, that on Mr Addison's desire, I applied to my L^d Trs^r Oxford in favour of M^r Steel² . . and his Lordship gave me a gentle Rebuke, which cured me for ever, although I got many Employments for my Friends, where no Objections could be made. Yet, I confess, that D^r Delany the most eminent Preacher we have is a very unlucky Recommender: For, he forced me to countenance Pilkington; introduced him to me, and praised the Witt, Virtue and humour of him and his Wife. Whereas he proved the falsest Rogue, and she the most profligate whore in either Kingdom.³ She was taken in the fact by her own Husband; He is now suing for a Divorce, and will not compass it; she is suing for a maintenance, and he hath none to give her . . As to M^r Richardson, his Father was a

¹ Evidently Swift was anxious to justify himself against hints from Barber that his recommendations were not to be accepted without reserve.

² Steele could not refrain from introducing politics into the conduct of his official duties, and after the accession of the Tory government, he was deprived of the post of *Gazetteer*: He became one of the Commissioners of the Stamp Office, at £300 a year, and resigned in 1713 (*Journal*, 22 Oct. 1710).

³ Not long before the date of this letter Mrs. Pilkington was brought up for trial in the Spiritual Court for adultery, which being proved sentence of divorce was pronounced.

Gentleman, and his eldest Brother is a Dean.¹ Their Father had but a small Fortune, Your Manager was the younger son; He hath an excellent Understanding in Business with some share of Learning, his Prudence obligeth him to keep fair with all Partyes, which in this Kingdom is necessary for one who hath to deal with numbers, as the Busyness of Your Society requires. It is his Interest to deal Justly with Your Corporations, because, People who envy his Em-ploymt, would be ready enough to complain; and yet, althô he hath a good Estate, I have not heard him taxed with any unjust means in procuring it. He is a Batcheller like you and me; and lives with a Maiden niece, who is a young Woman of very good Sense and Discretion . . . He is a Member of the H. of Commons, and acts as smoothly there as he does in the Country. I am so long upon this, because I believe it will give you a true Notion of the Man, and if you find by his Management that he gives you who are the Governor, any cause of Complaint, let me know the Particulars, which I will farther inquire into. I must next say something of Mr Dunkin. I told you, he was a Man of Genius, and the best Poet we have, and you know, that is a Trade wherein I have medled too much for my Quiet, as well as my Fortune. But, I find it generally agreed that he is a throw Churchman in all regards . . . His Aunt to whom he was legal Heir, bequeathed her whole Estate to this University, onely leaving him an allowance of 70¹¹ per aⁿn to support him till he was better provided for. But I prevailed on the Provost and fellows to make it 100¹¹ a year. Yesterday I sent to Mr Duncan² and cate-chised him strictly on his Principles, and was fully satisfied in them by Himself, as I was before by many of his Friends. Therefore I insist, that you shall think of no body else, Much less of Mr Loyd who is not to be compared in any one View. Dr Squire may linger out for some time, as consumptive People happen to do; but is past hopes of Recovery. My dear Friend, I cannot struggle with Disorders so well as you; for, as I am older, my Deafness is very vexatious, and my Memory almost entirely gone, except what I retain of former Times and Friends: Besides frequent Returns of that cruell Giddyness which you have seen me under, although not as yet with so much Violence—You, God be praised, keep y^r Memory an[d] Hearing, and your Health is much better than mine, besides

¹ The Rev. John Richardson had, some years previously, been promoted Dean of Kilmacduagh.

² i.e. Dunkin.

9 March 1737-8

Swift to John Barber

the Assistance of much abler Physicians: If you know Dr Mead, pray present Him with my most humble Service, and gratefull Acknowledgments of his Favours.¹ Dear Mr Alderman, why do you make Excuses for writing long Letters? I know no body who writes better, or with more Spirit, with your Memory as entire as a [young]² Man of Wit and Humour. I repeat, [that you shall]³ present my most humble service to my Lord and Lady Oxford, and my old Friend Mr Lewis. What is become of Mr Ford? Is he alive? I never hear from him. We thank your good City for the Present it sent us of a Brace of Monsters called Blasters, or Blasphemers, or Bacchanalians (as they are here called in Print) whereof Worsdail the Painter and one Lints (a Painter too, as I hear) are the Leaders.⁴ Pray God bless you My dear Friend; and let us have a Correspondence as long as I live. I am ever, most dear Sr, your constant Esteemer, and | Most obedient humble | Servant | J: Swift.

Dublin. March 9th | 1737-8

I have five old | small silver Medals | of the Cesars very plain | with the Inscriptions, they were | found in an old Church-yard | would my L^d Oxford | think them worth taking?

Deane Swift 1768

John Barber to Swift

London, March 13th, 1738.

Most Dear and Honoured Friend,

It was with great pleasure I received yours of the 9th of *March*, with the state of your health, which was the more agreeable, as it contradicted the various reports we had of you; for you remember that our news-papers take the privilege of killing all persons they do not like as often as they please. I have had the honour to be decently interred about six times in their weekly memoirs, which I always read with great satisfaction.

I am very well satisfied with your character of Mr. *Dunkin*, and

¹ The message was prompted, no doubt, by Mead's kindness to Mrs. Barber, the poetess. And see *Prosa Works*, ed. Davis, xiv. 38. ² ³ Paper injured.

⁴ Richard Parsons, first Earl of Rosse, and James Worsdale, the humorous painter, are credited with the establishment of a 'Hell-fire Club' in the Eagle Tavern, on Cork Hill, Dublin, about the year 1735 (Gilbert's *History of the City of Dublin*, ii. 14).

desire that he would *immediately* draw up a petition in form, directed to the governor, &c. which petition I desire that you only would underwrite with your recommendation, and a character of him; which you will please to send to me, to be made use of at my discretion. He need not come over, but inform me, as soon as possible, of Dr. *Squire's* death.

I have made your compliments to lord and lady *Oxford*, who are both well, and rejoiced to hear of your health. They give you their thanks for your remembrance, and are your faithful friends.

His lordship is very well pleased with your present of the medals, and desires you would send them by the first safe hand that comes over. Is it not shocking that that noble lord, who has no vices (except buying manuscripts and curiosities may be called so) has not a guinea in his pocket, and is selling a great part of his estate to pay his debts? and that estate of his produces near 20,000*l.* a year. I say, is it not shocking!¹ But indeed most of our nobility with great estates are in the same way. My lord *Burlington* is now selling, in one article, 9000*l.* a year in *Ireland*, for 200,000*l.* which won't pay his debts.²

Dr. *Mead* is proud of your compliments, and returns his thanks and service.

Mr. *Lewis* I have not seen, but hear he is pretty well.

Mr. *Ford*, I am told, is the most regular man living; for from his lodgings to the *Mall*—to the *Cocoa*—to the tavern—to bed, is his constant course.

These cold winds of late have affected me; but as the warm weather is coming on, I hope to be better than I am, though, I thank God, I am now in better health than I have been for many years. Among other blessings I enjoy, I am of a chearful disposition, and I laugh, and am laughed at in my turn, which helps off the tedious hours.

I hope the *Spring* will have a good effect upon you, and will help your hearing and other infirmities, and that I shall have the pleasure to hear so from your own hand.

¹ Oxford's expenditure on books, manuscripts, pictures, on building and gardening, was reaching a climax of embarrassment by 1738. An accumulated debt of £100,000 compelled him to sell Wimpole to Lord-Chancellor Hardwicke in 1740.

² Lord Burlington's passion for architecture led him into extravagant building projects, and by this time he was involved in serious money difficulties.

13 March 1738

John Barber to Swift

You will please to observe that I am proud of every occasion of shewing my gratitude to you, Sir, to whom I must ever own the greatest obligations.

Pray God bless and preserve you, and believe me always, dear Sir, your most faithful and most obedient humble servant, | John Barber.

B.M. Add. MSS. 12113, f. 17

Swift to John Nichols

Belcamp. Mar. 14th [1737-8.]

S^r

Riding out this morning to dine here with Mr Grattan I saw at his House the poor lame boy that gives you this; he was a Servant to a Plow-man near Lusk, and while he was following the plow, a Dog bit him in the leg, about eleven weeks ago. One Mr^s Rice endeavored six weeks to cure him, but could not, and his Master would maintain him no longer. Mr Grattan and I are of opinion, that he may be a proper object to be received into Dr Stephen's hospital. The boy tells his story naturally, and Mr Grattan and I took pity of him. If you find him curable, and it be not against the rules of the Hospital, I hope you will receive him. | I am S^r | Your most humble | Serv^t | Jonath Swift.¹

Deane Swift 1768

William King to Deane Swift

St. Mary-Hall, Oxon, March 15th, 1737-8.

Sir,²

I did not receive your letter of the 4th till yesterday. It was sent after me to *London*, and from thence returned to *Oxford*.

¹ The address (one is printed by Ball, vi. 73) was noted by Scott to have been torn off. The MS., which bears the original fold marks, has been pasted upon another sheet. Even when held up to a strong light, however, no address is visible on the verso.

² Deane Swift states that he was 'Then at *Monmouth*', by which we may take him to mean Goodrich, the family home of the Swifts in Herefordshire.

I am much concerned that I cannot see you before you go to *Ireland*, because I intended to have sent by you a packet for the Dean. It has been no fault of mine that he has not heard from me. I have written two letters for him (both inclosed to Mrs. *Whiteway*) since I received the manuscript from lord *Orrery*. I wrote again to Mrs. *Whiteway*, when I was last week in *London*, to acquaint her, that I would write to the Dean by a friend of mine, who is going for *Ireland* in a few days.¹ I do not wonder my letters by the post have been intercepted, since they wholly related to the publication of ———² which, I am assured, is a matter by no means agreeable to some of our great men, nor indeed to some of the Dean's particular friends in *London*. In short, I have been obliged to defer this publication till I can have the Dean's answer to satisfy the objections which have been made by some of his friends. I had likewise a particular reason of my own for deferring this work a few months, which I have acquainted the Dean with.

I must beg the favour of you to leave behind you the copy of the *Toast*,³ at least to shew it to nobody in *Ireland*: for as I am upon the point of accommodating my suit, the publication of the book would greatly prejudice my affairs at this juncture. But this is a caution I believe I needed not have given you.

Your friends in the Hall are all well. We are now very full.

Believe me to be, Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant, | William King.

Notwithstanding your letter, I am still in some hopes of seeing you before you go to *Ireland*.

¹ Swift, in his letter to Orrery of 2 Feb., under the impression that Orrery had failed to hand over to King the manuscript of the *History*, complained that he had received no acknowledgement of it. In his letter to Mrs. Whiteway, 2 Mar., King asserts that, under cover to her, he had, immediately upon receipt of the manuscript, acknowledged it, and that he had written again to Swift in December. (John Rylands Library, English MS. 659 (4). Cf. *The Library*, xvi. 70.) It is evident that King's letters were being intercepted by the post-office.

² *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*.

³ This may be the very copy of *The Toast* in the British Museum, which has written inside the front cover, 'Deane Swift | Oxford 1737'. For an account of the course of King's lawsuit in Dublin see *The Toast*, by Harold Williams, 1932. The quarto edition of *The Toast* must have passed through the press not later than November 1736. See David Greenwood, *William King*, 1969, Ch. II.

26 March 1738

The Earl of Orrery to George Faulkner

Harvard Library

The Earl of Orrery to George Faulkner

Dukestreet Westm^r: March: 26th: 1738.

M^r Faulkner

I have receiv'd the pacquets you sent me, & also your two Letters; the contents of which I communicated to D^r K. Both He and I are very desirous that you should have at least a large share, if not the whole Benëfit, of the Manuscript you mention, but the method you propose for preventing a Piratical Edition at Dublin will scarce take Effect: and the Booksellers you have nam'd has [*sic*] made no application to the D^r so that if it is printed on this side o' the water the Dean's Interposition on the Account would more determine the Doc^r how to Act, than mine can, who have no good opinion of any of our Booksellers here, and who had rather serve you than all the Fraternity.

I am, & have been confin'd to my Bed for above this fortnight past, by a painfull fit of the Gout in both Feet & one Knee, so that I am forc'd to snatch intervals of Ease to answer any Letters: & as yours was of Consequence I would not delay it, tho' writing is disagreeable to me. I wrote to M^{rs} Whiteway two days ago,¹ since which time I have seen D^r K. but at present can only add the compliments of a Cripple to M^{rs} Faulkner & am, S^r | Y^r Faithfull Servant | Orrery

P.S. pray mention the Deans Health particularly in every Letter.

Harvard Library

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Dukestreet Westm^r: March 26th 1738

Madam

I have sent your letter to D^r K. who in all his behaviour to me, and to others has express'd himself not only wth affection & Zeal to the Dean's Person, but deference to his commands. I have heard him say that he had some difficulties to get over which were great, especially at this time & in this Country, where the

¹ This letter is missing.

Press is in Danger; & every Syllable that comes from it too closely watch'd to escape the *Argus's* of the State. for particulars I must refer you to him, being now under the Anguish of a painfull Fit of the Gout, w^{ch} great as it is shall not hinder me, whilst I Live, from being to the Dean, & to you Madam, a | Most Fthfull Hble Servant
| Orrery.

Huntington Library HM 14388

Swift to John Barber

[Dublin, 31 March 1738]

My dear good old Friend in the best and worst Times

M^r Richardson is come to Town, and stays onely for a wind to take shipping for Chester, from whence he will hasten to attend you as his Governour in London. I have told you, that he is a very discreet, prudent Gentleman; and I believe your Society can never have a better; for the Station he is in. I shall see him some time to day, or to morrow morning and shall desire with all his modesty, that he will press you to write me a long Letter, if your Health will permit, which I believe is better than mine, For I have a constant Giddyness in my head, and what is more vexatious, as constant a Deafness: I forget every thing but old Friendships and old Opinions. I did desire you, that you would at your Leisure visit the few Friends I have left, I mean those of them with whom you have any Acquaintance; as My Lord and Lady Oxford, My Lord Bathurst, the Countess of Granville¹ My Lord and Lady Cartret, My Lady Worsely, My dear friend M^r Pope, and M^r Lewis, who allways loved both you and me. My Lord Masham, and some others have quite dropped and forgot me. Is Lord Masham's son good for any thing?² I did never like his Disposition or Education. Have you quite forgot your frequent Promises of coming over hither and pass a Summer in attending your Government in Derry and Colerain, as well as your visitation at the Deanry,? the last must be for half the Months of your stay: Let me know what is become of My Lord Bolingb^r—, how, and where he lives, and, whether you ever expect he will come home. Here hath run about a Report, that the D. of

¹ Lord Carteret's mother.

² Swift had asked Barber this same question in his letter of 3 Sept. 1736.

31 March 1738

Swift to John Barber

Ormond hath an Intention, and some Countenance to come from his Banishment which I would be extremely glad to find confirmed.¹ That glorious exile hath suffered more for his Virtues than ever the greatest Villain did from the cruellest Tyrant . . . I desire and insist that Mr Dunkin may have the Church Living upon Doctor Squire's Decease; who I am still assured can not long hold out, and I take it for granted, that Mr Richardson will have no Objection against Him. God preserve and bless you my dear Friend I am ever with true Esteem, and Friendship Your most obedient | humble servant |
J: Swift.

Dublin. March. 31st | 1738.

Longleat xiii, f. 55²

Swift to the Earl of Oxford

[Dublin, 3 April 1738]

My Dear Lord

I have a long time been under a difficulty of safely sending five Medals to you, two of which were of the twelve Cæsars, and the rest of those Emperors who succeeded near them: because I know your Lordship hath a Curiosity in this polite part of Knowledge. They were found in a very old Churchyard of this City,³ and as it belongs to me in some Manner, the Minister of the Church being my Chancellor, (Doctor Delany) they were sent to me, gratis, although I expect fifteen pence for them. However on account of your Poverty, I will take only a Shilling . . . You will find, that we in Dublin had Roman Medals as well as You. This will be at least a Motive, that your old Acquaintance is still alive, as well as Your Lady, from whom I have received more marks of⁴ Friendship and Condescension, than from all my Visitors. A worthy Gentleman of this Kingdom, Mr Richardson, a Member of our Parliament, will deliver you these, and Your Ladyship who condescended to see

¹ The latter years of Ormonde's life were largely spent at Avignon. He died in 1745 the year of Swift's death.

² This letter, in Swift's autograph, is preserved in Longleat xiii, f. 55, whence it is here printed. There is also a copy in the Forster Collection, F. 44. 5. 4.

³ St. Werburgh's Church, which formed the corps of the chancellorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

⁴ The word 'your' following 'of' has been scrawled out.

Swift to the Earl of Oxford

3 April 1738

Faulkner the Printer, will know how to distinguish the Bearer of this. You must send me an Answer, and my Lady Oxford must subscribe three Lines at least. I am now good for nothing, very deaf, very old and very much out of favour with those in Power. My dear Lord; I have a thousand things to say, but I can remember none of them . . . I will hold you no longer than while Mr Richardson stands by you; My humble Respects to the Dutchess, I hope she hath not forgot me. I hope You see My friend Mr Lewis often, he complains of Age as well [as] my self; Tempora mutantur, — Does the Duke of Ormond come over, so it is here reported? what is¹ become of Mr Thomas Harley, and of Mr Edward, and his Son or Sons.² Are you and my Lady Oxford in full Health? Pray tell me every thing relating to you and Your Family: I am ever. | My Dear Lord Your most | obedient and most humble | Servant. J Swift.

Dublin — | Apr 3^d | 1738

Address: To | The Right Honourable the | Earl of Oxford in Dover- | Street, | London.

Scott 1814

Erasmus Lewis to Swift

London, April 8, 1738

I can now acquaint you, my dear Dean, that I have at last had the pleasure of reading your History, in the presence of Lord O—d, and two or three more, who think, in all political matters, just as you do, and are as zealous for your fame and safety as any persons in the world. That part of it which relates to the negotiations of peace, whether at London or at Utrecht, they admire exceedingly, and declare they never yet saw that, or any other transaction, drawn up with so much perspicuity, or in a style so entertaining and instructive to the reader in every respect; but I should be wanting to the sincerity of a friend, if I did not tell you plainly, that it was the unanimous opinion of the company, a great deal of the first part should be retrenched, and many things altered.

1st, They conceive the first establishment of the South Sea Company is not rightly stated, for no part of the debt then unprovided

¹ Written above 'are' which is scratched out.

² The Auditor's son and successor to Oxford's title.

for was paid; however, the advantages arising to the public were very considerable; for, instead of paying for all provisions, cent per cent dearer than the common market-price, as we did in Lord Godolphin's times, the credit of the public was immediately restored; and, by means of this scheme, put upon as good a footing as the best private security.¹

2d, They think the transactions with Mr. Buys might have been represented in a more advantageous light, and more to the honour of that administration, and, undoubtedly they would have been so by your pen, had you been master of all the facts.²

3d, The D— of M—'s courage not to be called in question.³

4th, The projected design of an assassination they believe true, but that a matter of so high a nature ought not to be asserted without exhibiting the proofs.⁴

5th, The present Ministers, who are the rump of those whose characters you have painted, shew too plainly, that they have not acted upon republican, or, indeed, any other principles than those of interest and ambition.

6th, Now, I have mentioned characters, I must tell you they were clearly of opinion, that if those you have drawn should be published as they now stand, nothing could save the author's printer and publishers from some grievous punishment. As we have no traces of liberty now left, but the freedom of the press, it is the most earnest desire of your friends, that you would strike out all that you have said on that subject.

Thus, my dear Dean, I have laid before you, in a plain manner, the sentiments of those who were present when your history was read; if I have mistaken in anything, I ask pardon of you and them.

I am not at liberty to name those who were present, excepting only the E— of O—d, who has charged me to return you his thanks for what you have said of his father.

What I have to say from myself is, that there were persons in the company to whose judgment I should pay entire deference. I had no opportunity of paying any on this occasion, for I concurred in the same opinion with them, from the bottom of my heart, and therefore conjure you, as you value your own fame as an author, and the honour of those who were actors in the important affairs that make the subject of your history, and as you would preserve

¹ *Prose Works*, ed. Davis, vii. 76.

² *Ibid.* pp. 108ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 26–27.

Erasmus Lewis to Swift

8 April 1738

the liberty of your person, and enjoyment of your fortune, you will not suffer this work to go to the press, without making some, or all the amendments proposed. I am, my dear Dean, most sincerely and affectionately yours,

E. L.

I thank you for your kind mention of me in your letter to Lord Oxford.

I had almost forgot to tell you, you have mistaken the case of the D— of S—, which, in truth, was this, that his Grace, appearing at Court, in the chamber next to the Council-chamber, it was apprehended he would come into the cabinet council, and therefore the intended meeting was put off; whereas one would judge, by your manner of stating it, that the council had met and adjourned abruptly upon his taking his place there.¹

I must add, that if you would so far yield to the opinion of your friends, as to publish what you have writ concerning the peace, and leave out every thing that savours of acrimony and resentment, it would, even now, be of great service to this nation in general, and to them in particular, nothing having been yet published on the peace of Utrecht, in such a beautiful and strong manner as you have done it. Once more, my dear Dean, adieu. Let me hear from you.

Endorsed by Swift: On some mistakes in the History of Four Last Years. *Mon ami prudent.*

Deane Swift 1768

Alexander Macaulay to Swift

April 13, 1738.

Rev. Sir,²

I have received your letter of this date, and will wait upon you to-morrow morning. I am extremely sorry to find you meet with any thing that affects or perplexes you. I hope I shall never be guilty of

¹ *Prose Works*, ed. Davis, vii. 14. Cf. *Journal to Stella*, p. 332, and Swift's letter to Archbishop King, 26 Aug. 1711.

² Ball suggests that Swift, on the receipt of Lewis's letter of 8 Apr., which, with good weather, could have reached him in four or five days, resolved to consult his new friend, Macaulay, on the dangers attending the publication of the *Four Last Years of the Queen*; and wrote to beg a visit from him.

13 April 1738

Alexander Macaulay to Swift

such black ingratitude as to omit any opportunity of doing you every good office in my power.

I am, with the greatest esteem and gratitude, Rev. Sir, your most obedient servant, | Alexander M'Aulay.

Deane Swift 1768

William King to Deane Swift

St. Mary-Hall, Oxon, April 25, 1738.

Dear Sir,

I have just now received your letter by Mr. *Birt*, for which I thank you.¹ 'Tis now more than a month since I wrote to Mrs. *Whiteway*, to acquaint the Dean with the difficulties I met with in regard to the publication of his History, and to desire his advice and directions in what manner I should proceed. I have not yet had any answer; and till I receive one, I can do nothing more. I may probably hear from *Ireland* before you leave *Monmouth*;² in which case I may trouble you with a packet.

I am pretty much of your opinion about the old poets, and perhaps may confirm you in your whimsies (as you call them) when I have the pleasure of seeing you here again. I heartily wish you a good journey and voyage: but methinks I can hardly excuse you for having been so long absent from us. I wish you had returned to this place, tho' for one week; because I might have talked over with you all the affair of the History, about which I have been much condemned: and no wonder, since the Dean has continually expressed his dissatisfaction that I have so long delayed the publication of it. However, I have been in no fault: on the contrary, I have consulted the Dean's honour, and the safety of his person. In a word, the publication of this work, as excellent as it is, would involve the printer, publisher, author, and every one concerned, in the greatest difficulties, if not in a certain ruin; and therefore it will be absolutely necessary to omit some of the characters.

I thank you for the promise you make me concerning the *Toast*.³

¹ Presumably in reply to King's letter of 15 Mar.

² Deane Swift was evidently still staying in the neighbourhood of Goodrich.

³ In his letter of 15 Mar. King had requested Deane Swift to refrain from letting anyone in Ireland see a copy of *The Toast*.

William King to Deane Swift

25 April 1738

Your friends here are all well. Believe me, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, | William King.

Deane Swift 1768

Miss Katharine Richardson to Mrs. Whiteway

Belturbet, May 6, 1738.

Dear Madam,

I received the favour of your letter last post.¹ I was deprived of having that pleasure sooner by removing from *Summerseat* to this place, the beginning of last month, where I was sent for by my father, to attend him in a fit of the gout, of which he has been very ill these three months past. My sister, who takes care of him and his family, being near the time of her lying-in, I trouble you with this account, that you may know how I am engaged at present, which I fear will prevent me having an opportunity of waiting upon you before my uncle returns.

I most humbly thank you for your kind invitation, and do heartily wish it were any way in my power to let you know the grateful sense I have of my obligations to you. I hope the Dean of *St. Patrick's* is very well: it would have given me infinite pleasure to have had the honour of being in his company with you.

When I parted with my uncle, he proposed to make but a short stay in *England* at this time; and at his return, he intended to leave nothing undone that he could think of, to prevail with the Dean and you to spend some time at his house this summer. I hope you will be so good as to give him all the assistance you can, to persuade the Dean to take that jaunt: I really believe it would do him great service as to his health: I please myself greatly with the thoughts of having you there, and your daughter, who I believe to be a very accomplished young lady, having had the happiness to be educated under your direction. I beg you will make my compliments to her; and be assured that I am, with great respect, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant, | Kath. Richardson.

¹ We may surmise that Swift, pleased with Miss Richardson's letter of 23 Feb., instructed Mrs. Whiteway to invite her to visit Dublin.

30 May 1738

The Earl of Oxford to Swift

Portland Papers, B.M., First Deposit

The Earl of Oxford to Swift

30 May 1738.

Good Master Dean,¹

I return you many thanks for your kind remembrance of my family and your humble servant in your obliging letter which you was pleased to send me by Mr. Richardson.² I should have made my acknowledgements for your present of medals, which are curious, but the expressions in your letter are more valuable than cabinets of them.

As to my family the state is this, my daughter is just recovered of lying in childbed of a son, and a brave boy he is, his name William Henry Cavendish,³ baptized by my nephew Robert Hay;⁴ my daughter has two girls, the eldest's name is Elizabeth, the other Henrietta; all healthy fine children. My daughter desires your acceptance of her humble [service]; she assures me she has not forgotten you, and as a proof of it she often talks of you with Mrs. Pendarves. Mr. Thomas Harley died the beginning of January last, left his estate to Mr. Edward Harley, and three thousand pounds to my sister Kinnoul's children, in trust that it may not be come at by Lord Kinnoul.⁵ Mr. Edward Harley has five sons and one daughter, four of his sons are at Westminster School and do very well. Mr. Harley desires you will accept of his most humble service. My wife is pretty well; she is troubled with your distemper, deafness; I hope a journey to the Bath next autumn will do her great service.

I see our friend Mr. Lewis sometimes. I told him that you mentioned him in your letter; he desires his hearty respects to you; he wishes you and here were nearer together. The letter you received from Mr. Lewis lately⁶ was wrote with my privity, and indeed desire, and is truly my sentiment. As to the Duke of Ormond I take

¹ This letter, preserved by a draft among the Portland Papers, is crudely arranged and written on a folio sheet of thick paper. First British Museum Deposit, List I, Miscellaneous Papers, 1723-40. 714A. Adaptation has been necessary.

² 3 Apr. 1738.

³ In 1762 he succeeded his father as third Duke of Portland, distinguished himself as a statesman, and was twice Prime Minister.

⁴ Lord Dupplin's younger son.

⁵ Lord Kinnoul's profligacy was notorious.

⁶ Lewis's letter of 8 Apr.

it for granted there is nothing in it. Thus, dear Sir, I have given you an account of all the family. I thank God I enjoy my health very well. I am much concerned that you have so many complaints.

Faulkner 1767

Swift to Miss Margaret Hamilton

[Deanery House, Dublin, 8 June 1738]

Madam,¹

Some days ago, my lord *Orrery* had the assurance to shew me a letter of yours to him, wherein you did me the honour to say many things in my favour. I read the letter with great delight; but at the same time I reproached his lordship for his presumption, in pretending to take a lady from me, who had made so many advances, and confessed herself to be no bodies goddess but mine. However, he had the boldness to assure me, that he had your consent to take him for a husband. I therefore command you, never to accept him without my leave under my own hand and seal. And as I do not know any lady in this kingdom of so good sense, or so many accomplishments; I have at last, with a heavy heart, permitted him to make himself the happiest man in the world; for I know no fault in him, except his treacherous dealing with me.

Pray God make you happy in yourselves and each other! And believe me to be, with the truest esteem and respect, Madam, | Your most obedient | and obliged servant, | J. Swift.²

Deanry-house, Dublin, June 8, 1738.

I have neither mourning paper nor gilt at this time; and, if I had, I could not tell which I ought to chuse.

¹ It was not till after the death of his first wife, Henrietta, daughter of the Earl of Orkney, in Aug. 1732, that Orrery made the acquaintance of Swift. After being a widower for nearly six years he married, as his second wife, the lady to whom this letter is addressed, the only child of John Hamilton of Caledon in the county of Tyrone. She, as the sole issue, was heiress to large estates and a good income. See *Orrery Papers*, ii. 142 n., and on the same page Orrery's letter of proposal, 29 Apr. 1738. The wedding took place on 30 June.

² Miss Hamilton's reply to Swift, 13 June 1738, addressed to him from Lowtown in the county of Westmeath, was at one time in the possession of Bishop Percy. Lowtown was then the residence of her maternal uncle, the Rev. Anthony Dopping, afterwards Bishop of Ossory.

13 June 1738

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

Deane Swift 1768

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

June 13, 1738.

Dear Sir,

I am engaged to-morrow at dinner; but I will try to put it off, and send you word in the morning whether I can meet Mrs. *White-way* or not.

To shew you what a generous rival I am (now I am sure of the lady) I should be glad to carry down a letter from you to my mistress on *Friday*.¹ She never drinks any wine; but she told me the other day, to do you good, she would drink a bottle. I wish you would insist on it, that I might see whether wine would alter the sweetness of her temper, for I am sure nothing else can.

I rejoice to find there is some little amendment in your health, and I pray God to encrease it. | Orrery.

Deane Swift 1768

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

June 29, 1738.

Dear Sir,

I have but this paper left, and how can I employ it better than triumphing over my rival. *Mea est Lavinia conjux*. Tomorrow Mrs. *Hamilton* gives me her heart and hand for ever. Do I live to see the day when toupets, coxcomical lords, powdered squires, and awkward beaux join with the Dean of *St. Patrick's* in the loss of one and the same object? My happiness is too great, and in pity to you I will add no more than that I hope to see grief for this loss strongly wrote in your face even twenty years hence. Adieu, your generous rival, | Orrery.

¹ In the collection of autograph letters to him (1738-45) from his second wife, assembled by Orrery and now at Harvard (MS. Eng. 218. 26), the first, dated from Lowtown, 1 June 1738, and signed 'Margaret Hamilton', mentions that she is expecting a letter from Swift, perhaps that which was written on the 8th.

Faulkner 1767

Swift to George Faulkner

[Thursday, 13 July 1738]

Sir,

I desire you will print the following paper in what manner you think most proper. You see my design in it; I believe no man had ever more difficulty, or less encouragement, to bestow his whole fortune for a charitable use. | I am your humble servant, | J. Swift.
Thursday, July 13, 1738.

It is known enough, that the above-named Doctor hath, by his last will and testament, bequeathed his whole fortune (excepting some legacies) to build and endow an hospital, in or near this city, for the support of lunaticks, ideots, and those they call incurables. But the difficulty he lies under is, that his whole fortune consists in mortgages on lands, and other the like securities; for, as to purchasing a real estate in lands, for want of active friends, he finds it impossible; so that, much against his will, if he should call in all his money lent, he knows not where to find a convenient estate, in a tolerable part of the kingdom, which can be bought; and, in the mean time, his whole fortune must lie dead in the hands of bankers. The great misfortune is, that there seems not so much public virtue left among us, as to have any regard for a charitable design; because none but the aforesaid unfortunate objects of charity will be the better for it. However, the said Doctor, by calling in the several sums he hath lent, can be able, with some difficulty, to purchase three hundred pounds *per annum* in lands for the endowment of the said hospital, if those lands could be now purchased;¹ otherwise he must leave it, as he hath done in his will, to the care of his executors, who are very honest, wise, and considerable gentlemen, his friends;

¹ It appears from one of Swift's account-books (Forster Collection, No. 512) that before 11 Apr. 1736 the following sums had been lent by him and were then still outstanding:

	£
Alexander Lynch, at 5%	2,000
Deane Swift, at 6%	3,000
John Putland, at 5½%	1,500
Mr. Throp, at 5%	500
Sir W. Fownes, at 6%	400
Mr. Carshore of Trim, at 6%	100
	<hr/>
	£7,500

13 July 1738

Swift to George Faulkner

and yet he hath known some of very fair and deserved credit, prove very negligent trustees. The Doctor is now able to lend two thousand pounds, at five *per cent.* upon good security; of which the principal, after his decease, is to be disposed of, by his executors, in buying land for the further endowment of the said hospital.

Deane Swift 1768

William Richardson to Swift

[London] July 25, 1738.

There are but few things would give me a greater concern than the Dean of *St. Patrick's* becoming indifferent towards me; and yet I fear one of those few things is the cause I have not had a line from you since I came hither.¹ I beseech you ease me of my present pain, by telling me that you are well; that summer, which hath but lately reached us here, hath invited you, and tempted you to ride again.

If anything occurs to you I can do, that is agreeable to you, if you have the least inclination to oblige me, you will let me know it.

My hurry here is almost over; but one affair or other will detain me till the latter end of *October*, if I get away then. I cannot say I pass my time disagreeably. I have had some opportunities of doing good offices; and, when I am not disengaged² by business, I live with a few friends that I love, and love me, and, for the most part, go every week with one of them to the country for two or three days.

Your friend *Bolingbroke* is well, and at present with Mr. *Pope*.³ I am told he has sold *Dawley*. Alderman *Barber*, who has promised me to write to you by the next post, tells me his lordship inquired much about you and your health. The alderman plays his cards so as that his credit in the city daily encreases. There is nothing but the vacancy wanting to put Mr. *Dunkin* in possession of the parish of *Coleraine*.

I hear you have seen *Pope's* First Dialogue, 1738. Have you seen

¹ Swift's letter to Barber of 31 Mar. informed him that Richardson was on his way to London. Apparently Swift had not written to Richardson since that date.

² Thus. Evidently a mistake for 'engaged'.

³ Bolingbroke sold Dawley after long negotiations. Writing to Swift, 17 May 1739, Pope says that he received £26,000 for the estate.

William Richardson to Swift

25 July 1738

his Universal Prayer?¹ This Second Dialogue, together with the copy of the inscription intended by the old dutchess of *Marlborough* for a statue she is to erect of queen *Anne*, and a few lines attributed to Lord *Chesterfield*, on another subject, wait on you inclosed.

Believe that I love as much as I admire you; and that I am, with the most perfect respect, dear Sir, your most obliged and most truly faithful servant, | William Richardson.

This paquet goes franked by the secretary of the foreign office, who can frank any weight. I expect the prime serjeant² here this night in his way to *France*.

Deane Swift 1768

John Barber to Swift

London, July 27, 1738.³

Most Honoured and Worthy Sir,

I have deferred answering the favours of the 9th⁴ and 31st of *March*, in hopes to have something to entertain you with, and I have succeeded in my wishes; for I am sure I give you great pleasure when I tell you the inclosed I received from the hands of lord *Bolingbroke* and Mr. *Pope*, your dearest friends. My lord has been here a few days, and is come to sell *Dawley*, to pay his debts; and he will return to *France*, where, I am told, he is writing the History of his own Times; which I heartily rejoice at (though I am not likely to live to see it published) because so able a hand can do nothing but what must be instructive and entertaining to the next generation. His lordship is fat and fair, in high spirits; but joins with you, and all good men, to lament our present unhappy situation. Mr. *Pope* has a cold, and complains, but he is very well; so well, that he throws out a twelve-penny touch in a week or ten days,

¹ Pope was very active during the first half of 1738. The first 'Dialogue' of *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight* appeared in May, in June *The Universal Prayer*, and in July 'Dialogue II' of *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight*.

² Henry Singleton.

³ Dated by Deane Swift 2 July; but Richardson's letter of 25 July speaks of Barber intending to write; and see Swift's reply of 8 Aug.

⁴ Barber's memory was at fault. He had already replied to Swift's letter of 9 Mar.

27 July 1738

John Barber to Swift

with as much ease as a friend of ours formerly used to roast the enemies to their country.

The report of the duke of *Ormond's* return is without foundation. His grace is very well in health, and lives in a very handsome manner, and has Mr. *Kelly*¹ with him as his chaplain, the gentleman who escaped out of the *Tower*. A worthy friend of yours and mine passed through *Avignon* about a month since, and dined with his Grace, from whom I have what I tell you.

I hear nothing of Dr. *Squire's* departure: I believe I may say the matter is secured for Mr. *Dunkin*.

I have seen lord and lady *Oxford*, who make you their compliments. He thanks you for your medals. I believe I told you he is selling *Wimple*, to pay off a debt of 100,000*l*. That a man without any vice should run out such a sum is monstrous. It must be owing to the roguery of his stewards, and his indolency, which is vice enough.

Lord *Bathurst* is heartily yours; so is Mr. *Lewis*, who wears apace, and the more (would you believe it?) since the loss of his wife.

I do not see lord ——² in an age: his son is married, and proves bad enough; ill-natured and proud, and very little in him.³ Our friend *Ford* lives in the same way, as constant as the sun, from the *Cocoa-tree* to the *Park*, to the tavern, to bed, &c.

So far in the historical way to obey your several commands. You will now give me leave to hope this will find you free from all complaints, and that I shall have the great pleasure of seeing it very quickly under your own hand. I thank God, I am better than I have been many years, but yet have many complaints; for my asthma sticks close by me, but less gout than formerly, so that though I cannot walk far, I ride daily, and eat and drink heartily at noon; and I impute my being so much better to my drinking constantly the asses milk, which is the best specifick we have. I wish to God you would try it, I am sure it would do you much good. I take it betimes in the morning, which certainly gives me a little sleep, and often a small breathing or sweat.

¹ The Rev. George Kelly had been confined in the Tower since his trial for participation in Laver's plot, 1722-3. He succeeded in escaping 26 Oct. 1736, and joined the Jacobites in Paris.

² Masham.

³ Samuel Masham, who married, 16 Oct. 1736, Harriet, daughter of Salway Winnington of Stanford Court, Worcestershire.

If Mr. *Richardson* has not made you his acknowledgments for your great favour and friendship to him, he is much to blame; for to you he owes the continuance of his employment. An alderman of *Derry* came from thence on purpose to attach him, and he had many articles of impeachment; and I believe he had twenty, out of twenty-four, of our Society against him: and the cry has been against him for two or three years past, and I had no way to save him many times, but only by saying, that while I had the honour to preside in that chair, I would preserve the great privilege every *Englishman* had, of being heard before he was condemned: and I never put any question against him while he was in *Ireland*. Well, he came; and, after a long and tedious hearing of both sides, the Society were of opinion, that he had acted justly and honourably in his office.

I do not deal in politicks; I have left them off a long while, only we talk much of war, which I do not believe a word on. A fair lady in *Germany*¹ has put the ——² in good humour they say.

I shall trouble you no more at present, but to assure you I never think of you but with the utmost pleasure, and drink your health daily, and heartily pray for your long, long life, as you are an honour to your country, and will be the glory of the present and succeeding ages.

I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, | J. Barber.

Berkeley, Literary Relics

Mrs. Whiteway to William Richardson

[5 August 1738]

Sir,³

I this afternoon received the honour of yours, and a letter inclosed to the Dean, which I sent him immediately. My daughter hath been very much indisposed these three days; and I am not without

¹ Amalie Sophie Marianne Wallmoden by whom George II was attracted during his summer visit to Hanover in 1735. After the death of Caroline, Aug. 1737, she was brought over to England, in 1739 divorced from her husband, and in the following year created Countess of Yarmouth.

² King.

³ This letter was misplaced by Ball, vi. 91, as part of a letter addressed by Swift to Richardson on the same date. Swift's portion should be linked with Mrs. Whiteway's letter to Richardson of 16 Sept. See the note to that letter.

5 August 1738

Mrs. Whiteway to W. Richardson

fears of her taking a fever, which, to my very great unhappiness, she is too much inclined to. I had a letter last post from Miss Richardson, who hath promised me to meet you in this town, when you fix the time. The Dean is extremely deaf, but is in good health. I most sincerely wish you all happiness; and am, Sir, with the greatest respect, your most humble and most obedient servant, |
M. Whiteway.

Aug. 5. 1738.

Address: William Richardson, Esq; at Messrs Knox and Cragheads, merchants in London.

Deane Swift 1765

Swift to John Barber

Aug. 8, 1738.

My dear and honoured Friend,

I have received yours of July 27th, and two days ago had a letter from Mr. Pope, with a dozen lines from my Lord Bolingbroke, who tells me he is just going to France, and I suppose designs to continue there as long as he lives. I am very sorry he is under a necessity of selling Dawley: Pray, let me know whether he be tolerably easy in his fortunes; for he hath these several years lived very expensively. Is his Lady still alive? And hath he still a country-house and an estate of hers to live on? I should be glad to live so long, as to see his History of his own Times, which would be a work very worthy of his Lordship, and will be a defence of that Ministry, and a justification of our late glorious Queen, against the malice, ignorance, falsehood, and stupidity of our present times and managers. I very much like Mr. Pope's last poem, entitled MDCCXXXVIII, called Dialogue II.; but I live so obscurely, and know so little of what passes in London, that I cannot know the names of persons and things by initial letters.

I am very glad to hear that the Duke of Ormond lives so well at ease and in so good health, as well as with so valuable a companion.¹ His Grace hath an excellent constitution at so near to fourscore. Mr. Dunkin is not in town, but I will send to him when I hear he is come. I extremely love my Lord and Lady Oxford, but his way of

¹ Rev. George Kelly.

managing his fortune is not to be endured. I remember a rascally butcher, one Morley, a great land-jobber and knave, who was his Lordship's manager, and hath been the principal cause of my Lord's wrong conduct, in which you agree with me in blaming his weakness and credulity.¹ I desire you will please, upon occasion, to present my humble service to my Lord and Lady Oxford, and to my Lord Bathurst. I just expected the character you give of young [Masham]. I hated him from a boy. I wonder Mr. Ford is alive; perhaps walking preserves him.

I very much lament your asthma. I believe temperance and exercise have preserved me from it. I seldom walk less than four miles, sometimes six, eight, ten, or more, never beyond my own limits; or, if it rains, I walk as much through the house, up and down stairs: And, if it were not for this cruel deafness, I would ride through the kingdom, and half through England; pox on the modern phrase *Great Britain*, which is only to distinguish it from Little Britain, where old cloaths and books are to be bought and sold. However, I will put Dr. Sheridan (the best scholar in both kingdoms) upon taking your receipt for a terrible asthma. I wish you were rich enough to buy and keep a horse, and ride every tolerable day twenty miles. Mr. Richardson is, I think, still in London. I assure you, he is very grateful to me, and is too wise and discreet to give any just occasion of complaint, by which he must be a great loser in reputation, and a greater in his fortune.

I have not written so much this many a day. I have tired myself much; but, in revenge, I will tire you. | I am, Dear Mr. Alderman, | with very great esteem, | Your most obedient and | Most humble servant.

¹ John Morley (1656–1732), who began life as a butcher, became a land jobber on a large scale. He acted as a business agent for the Harleys. As a country gentleman he built for himself a large house in his native parish of Halstead, Essex. An entertaining character sketch of him appears in Prior's ballad of *Down-hall*. See *D.N.B.*

8 August 1738

Swift to Pope and Viscount Bolingbroke

Faulkner 1741

*Swift to Alexander Pope and
Viscount Bolingbroke*

Dublin, Aug. 8, 1738

My dear Friend,¹

I have yours of July 25, and first I desire you will look upon me as a man worn with years, and sunk by publick as well as personal vexations. I have entirely lost my memory, incapable of conversation by a cruel deafness, which hath lasted almost a year, and I despair of any cure. I say not this to encrease your compassion (of which you have already too great a part) but as an excuse for my not being regular in my letters to you, and some few other friends. I have an ill name in the post-office of both kingdoms, which makes the letters addressed to me not seldom miscarry, or be opened and read, and then sealed in a bungling manner before they come to my hands. Our friend Mrs B.² is very often in my thoughts, and high in my esteem; I desire you will be the messenger of my humble thanks and service to her. That superior universal Genius you describe,³ whose hand-writing I know towards the end of your Letter, hath made me both proud and happy; but by what he writes I fear he will be too soon gone to his Forest abroad. He began in the Queen's time to be my Patron, and then descended to be my Friend.

It is a great favour of Heaven, that your health grows better by the addition of years. I have absolutely done with Poetry for several years past, and even at my best times I could produce nothing but trifles: I therefore reject your compliments on that score, and it is no compliment in me; for I take your second Dialogue that you lately sent me, to equal almost any thing you ever writ; although I live so much out of the world, that I am ignorant of the facts and

¹ This letter, printed by Pope in his London quarto of 1741, is here reproduced from Faulkner's 1741 volume. The variations are insignificant. A year previously Pope's letters for twenty years past had been returned to him. See Swift to Pope, [June] 1737; and Orrery's letter to Swift of 23 July 1737, assuring him that Pope had received 'his letters'. Had Swift forgotten? It may be possible, as Sherburn suggests, that Mrs. Whiteway did not read the whole letter, or 'she had sealed parcels of Swift's papers and was at this time unaware of the return of Pope's letters'. See also the footnote by Ball, vi. 93.

² Martha Blount.

³ Bolingbroke.

persons, which I presume are very well known from Temple-bar to St. James's; (I mean the Court exclusive.)

'I can faithfully assure you, that every letter you have favoured me with these twenty years and more, are sealed up in bundles, and delivered to Mrs. W—,¹ a very worthy, rational, and judicious Cousin of mine, and the only relation whose visits I can suffer: All these Letters she is directed to send safely to you upon my decease.'

My Lord Orrery is gone with his Lady to a part of her estate in the North: She is a person of very good understanding as any I know of her sex. Give me leave to write here a short answer to my Lord B's letter in the last page of yours.

My dear Lord,—I am infinitely obliged to your Lordship for the honour of your letter, and kind remembrance of me. I do here confess, that I have more obligations to your Lordship than to all the world besides. You never deceived me, even when you were a great Minister of State: and yet I love you still more, for your condescending to write to me, when you had the honour to be an Exil. I can hardly hope to live till you publish your History, and am vain enough to wish that my name could be squeezed in among the few Subalterns, *quorum pars parva fui*; If not, I will be revenged, and contrive some way to be known to futurity, that I had the honour to have your Lordship for my best Patron: and I will live and die, with the highest veneration and gratitude, your most obedient, &c.

P.S. I will here in a Postscript correct (if it be possible) the blunders I have made in my letter. I shewed my Cousin the above letter, and she assures me 'that a great Collection of² ^{your} _{my} letters to me, are put up and sealed, and in some very safe hand.'

I am, my most dear and honoured Friend, entirely yours, | J. Swift. | It is now Aug. 24, | 1738.

¹ Mrs. Whiteway.

² A footnote in the 1741 quarto and in Faulkner's volume reads: 'It is written just thus in the Original. The Book that is now printed seems to be part of the Collection here spoken of, as it contains not only the Letters of Mr. Pope, but of Dr. Swift, both to him and Mr. Gay, which were returned him after Mr. Gay's Death: Tho' any Mention made by Mr. P. of the Return or Exchange of Letters has been industriously suppress in the Publication, and only appears by some of the Answers.'

31 August 1738

Swift to George Faulkner

Faulkner 1762

Swift to George Faulkner

August 31, 1738.

Sir,

I believe you know that I had a Treatise, called, *Advice to Servants*,¹ in two Volumes. The first was lost, but, this Minute Mrs. *Ridgeway* brought it to me, having found it in some Papers in her Room; and truly, when I went to look for the second, I could not tell where to find it; if you happen to have it, I shall be glad; if not, the Messenger shall go to Mrs. *Whiteway*. | I am your humble Servant, | Jon. Swift.

Rothschild and Literary Relics

Swift and Mrs. Whiteway to William Richardson

[16 September 1738]

[SWIFT]

Sr²

It was not any want of Friendship or Esteem that hindred me from answering your severall Letters, But meerly my Disorders in

¹ The story of the manuscripts and publication of Swift's *Directions to Servants* is intricate. Its first mention occurs in a letter from Swift to Gay, 28 Aug. 1731, in which he refers to a work he had in hand on 'the Whole Duty of Servants in about twenty several stations'. Now, seven years later, the manuscript is not to be found, and nothing seems to have come of this enquiry addressed to Faulkner. On 4 Dec. 1739 Swift appealed to Faulkner again. However, without Faulkner's help the manuscript was found, for, writing to Pope, 16 May 1740, Mrs. Whiteway reported that there was an unfinished treatise in Swift's own keeping called 'Advice to Servants worthy to appear as a posthumous work'. This was probably the copy in the hand of an amanuensis with corrections by Swift now in the Forster Collection. Another manuscript somehow came into Faulkner's hands which was used for the printing of the London edition. Furthermore, an autograph draft has recently come to light which was once in the hands of the first Earl of Normanton, born 1736, who became Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland in 1801. This was sold by the fifth Earl of Normanton at Sotheby's on 14 Oct. 1946, lot 310, and is now in the library of Lord Rothschild, no. 2275. See further 'The Manuscripts of Swift's "Directions to Servants"' by Professor Herbert Davis in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, pp. 433-44.

² In the original (Rothschild, no. 2302) this letter covers two leaves, four

Point of Health, for I am constantly Giddy, and so deaf, that your friend Mrs Whiteway is almost got into a Consumption by bawling in my Ears. I heartily congratulate with you on your Triumph over Your Irish Enemyes by a nemine contradicente. I leave the rest of this Paper to be filled by Mrs Whiteway, and am with true Esteem, and Gratitude Your most obedient | and obliged Servant | J: Swift

Pray tell my dear friend the Alderman, that I love him most sincerely; but my ill health and worse memory will not suffer me to write a long Letter.

[MRS. WHITEWAY]

Sr

I have much pleasure in thinking I have executed your commands, and Alderman Barbers, to both your satisfactions, and was greatly pleased yesterday to find the Dean in spirits enough to be able to write you a few Lines; because I know it was what you wished for. I declare it hath not been by any omission of mine that it was not done long agoe. besides his usual attendants Giddyness and Deafness, I can with great truth say the miserys of this poor Kingdom hath shortened his days, and sunk him even below the wishes of his Enemies; and as he hath lived the Patriot of Ireland, like the second Cato, he will resign Life; when it can be no longer serviceable to his Country.

As Sr Robert Walpole hath your best wishes, I am so far glad of his recovery.

My Daur is now very well, and most highly obliged to you for what you say about her. I was so little my self when I writ to you last with her illness, that I forgot to entreat the favour of yr commands to Miss Richardson to take the opportunity of the summer season to come to this town; but the week after I writ to her, and insisted on her company immediately but, by directing my Letter to

pages. Swift's part occupies about two-thirds of the first page; Mrs. Whiteway's part breaks off at the end of the fourth page, and was evidently completed on another leaf now missing. The complete letter with Mrs. Whiteway's letter to the end, including the portion missing in the manuscript, appears in Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, 1789, pp. 48, and pp. 49-52, dated 16 Sept. 1738. The letter from Mrs. Whiteway to Richardson, which Ball prints in association with Swift's portion, vi. 90, is not the one in the manuscript, but a shorter letter, *Lit. Rel.*, p. 47, dated 5 Aug. 1738.

summer seat instead of Colraine, I had not an answer till yester day, and then, one, that did not satisfie me, for it is written with such deference and fear of doing anything without your positive orders, that I have very little to hope for from her. I shall for ever tax you, with want of truth, sincerity, and breach of faith, if you do not command her to come immediately to town.

I shewed Mr Dunkin the Paragraph in your letter that concerned him; for which, and many other obligations he is under to you, he owns himself most gratefully y^r Obed^t &c Mr Faulkner will send the books by the first that goes to England.

How could you Sr be so unpolite as to tell a Woman you supposed her not to be entertained with scandall? you will not allow us to be learned; Books turn our brain, House wifery is below a Genteel Education, and work spoils our Eyes; and will you not permitt us to be proficients in Gaming, vissittg and scandal? To convince you I am so in the last article, the poem pleased me mightily, and I had a secret pleasure to see the gentleman I shewed it to liked it as well as I did; so I find your sex are not without a tincture of that female Quality.

You have pressed me so much in every letter to find you employment, that, to be rid of you, I will now do it; for, without mentioning the words, *entreat favours, vast obligations, trouble*, and a long &c. will you bye for me twenty yards of a Pink Coloured English Damask? The colour we admire here; is called a blue Pink. The women will tell you what I mean. If you will be pleased, by the return of the post, to tell what will be the expence, I will pay the money immediately into Henry's Bank.

I own I am surprised at what you tell me of Mr. Philips;¹ but Envy, you know, is the tax on virtue, for no other reason could² make him your enemy: and I most heartily wish, whoever is so may meet with the fate they deserve. I have just read so far of this letter, and am so much ashamed of the liberty I have taken to give you so much trouble, that if I have truth in me, were it not for the Dean's letter it should never go to you. If you can pardon me this, I promise for the future never to give you the like occasion of exerting your

¹ The allusion was probably to Marmaduke Phillips, who by preferment, and by his chaplaincy to Bishop Rundle of Derry, was linked with the north, the scene of Richardson's employments. In 1751 he was collated Prebendary of Iniscarra in the diocese of Cloyne (Cotton, *Fasti Eccl. Hib.* i. 324).

² The manuscript ends at 'could'.

Swift and Mrs. W. to W. Richardson

16 September 1738

good nature, to her who is, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obliged and most obedient servant, M. Whiteway.

Sept. 16 1738.

You forgot to date your letter.

Address: To William Richardson, Esq;

Deane Swift 1768

Bishop Syngé to Swift

September 18, 1738.

Sir,¹

A message which I just now received from you by Mr. *Hughes*,² gives me some hopes of being restored to my old place. Formerly I was your minister *in musicis*: but when I grew a great man (and by the by you helped to make me so) you turned me off. If you are pleased again to employ me, I shall be as faithful and observant as ever.

I have heard Mr. *Hughes* sing often at *Percival's*, and have a good opinion of his judgment: so has *Percival*, who, in these affairs, is infallible.³ His voice is not excellent, but will do: and, if I mistake not, he has one good quality, not very common with the musical gentlemen, *i.e.* he is desirous to improve himself. If *Mason* and *Lamb* were of his temper, they would be as fine fellows as they

¹ Edward Syngé, son of the Archbishop of Tuam, although derided by Swift in 1717 for writing 'in a most silly, starched, affected style' was eight years later recommended by him to Lord Carteret as worthy of preferment, and was now Bishop of Ferns. Mrs. Pilkington claimed relationship with him, and tells us that, on the occasion of a visit to Syngé, he asked her to present his compliments to the Dean 'as 'tis to his Reccomendation I owe my present Happiness'. Nevertheless he was now pained to find that Swift quite disregarded him. Upon her mentioning this to the Dean his reply was that his only reason for recommending Syngé was that he wanted for Delany the living of St. Werburgh's, which would then be rendered vacant. And 'Pox take me', he concluded, 'if I ever thought him worth my Contempt, till I had made a Bishop of him' (*Memoirs of Mrs. Pilkington*, iii. 60-62).

² Cornelius Hughes was appointed on 26 Oct. to the position of a half vicar-choral in St. Patrick's Cathedral.—Ball.

³ Miss Donnellan's stepfather, the Hon. Philip Percival, had been chosen in the preceding year President of a Musical Academy that then existed in Dublin.—Ball.

18 September 1738

Bishop Syngge to Swift

think themselves.¹ I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, |
Edward Ferns.

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

[3 October 1738]

Mr. *Swift's* gimcracks of cups and balls² in order to my convenient shaving with ease and dispatch, together with the prescription on half a sheet of paper, was exactly followed, but some inconveniencies attended; for I cut my face once or twice, was just twice as long in the performance, and left twice as much hair behind, as I have done this twelvemonth past. I return him, therefore, all his implements, and my own compliments, with abundance of thanks, because he hath fixed me during life in my old humdrum way. Give me a *full and true* account of all your healths, and so adieu. I am ever, &c. | J. Swift.

Oct. 3d or 4th, or rather as the butler says, the second on *Tuesday* 1738.³

My service to all your litter, I mean Mrs. *Harrison*, &c. but you will call this high treason. I am still very lame of *that* left foot. I expect to see as many of you as you please.

Deane Swift 1765

Alexander Pope to Swift

Twitnam, Oct. 12, 1738.

My dear Friend,

I could gladly tell you every week the many things that pass in my heart, and revive the memory of all your friendship to me; but I am not so willing to put you to the trouble of shewing it (though

¹ John Mason had been a vicar-choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral for eight years, and William Lamb a half vicar-choral for three years. They both became subsequently also vicars-choral of Christ Church Cathedral, and Mason held in addition a similar post at Armagh.—Ball.

² The gift was from Deane Swift, who has a footnote to explain that the gimcracks were 'A box of soap and a brush'. ³ Tuesday fell upon the 3rd.

I know you have it as warm as ever) upon little or trivial occasions. Yet, this once, I am unable to refuse the request of a very particular and very deserving friend; one of those whom his own merit has forced me to contract an intimacy with, after I had sworn never to love a man more, since the sorrow it cost me to have loved so many, now dead, banished, or unfortunate. I mean Mr. *Lyttelton*, one of the worthiest of the rising generation.¹ His nurse has a son, whom I would beg you to promote to the next vacancy in your choir. I loved my own nurse, and so does *Lyttelton*: he loves, and is loved, through the whole chain of relations, dependants, and acquaintance. He is one who would apply to any person to please me, or to serve mine: I owe it to him to apply to you for this man, whose name is *William Lamb*, and he is the bearer of this letter. I presume he is qualified for that which he desires; and I doubt not, if it be consistent with justice, you will gratify me in him.

Let this, however, be an opportunity of telling you—What?—what I cannot tell, the kindness I bear you, the affection I feel for you, the hearty wishes I form for you, my prayers for your health of body and mind; or, the best softenings of the want of either, quiet and resignation. You lose little by *not hearing* such things as this idle and base generation has to tell you: you lose not much by *forgetting* most of what *now* passes in it. Perhaps, to have a memory that retains the past scenes of our country, and forgets the present, is the means to be happier and better contented. But, if the *evil* of *the day* be not intolerable (though sufficient, God knows, at any period of life) we *may*, at least we *should*, nay we *must* (whether patiently or impatiently) bear it, and make the best of what we cannot make better, but may make worse. To hear that this is your situation and your temper, and that peace attends you at home, and one or two true friends who are tender about you, would be a great ease to me to know, and know from yourself. Tell me who those are whom you now love or esteem, that I may love and esteem them too; and, if ever they come into *England*, let them be my friends. If, by any thing I can here do, I can serve you, or please you, be certain it will mend my happiness; and that no satisfaction any thing gives me here will be superior, if equal to it.

¹ George Lyttelton, elected to the House of Commons in March 1735, had begun to make a mark for himself in opposition to Walpole. In 1737 he was appointed secretary to the Prince of Wales. In 1738 he urged the reduction of the standing army.

12 October 1738

Alexander Pope to Swift

My dear Dean, whom I never will forget, or think of with coolness, many are yet living here who frequently mention you with affection and respect. Lord *Orrery*, lord *Bathurst*, lord *Bolingbroke*, lord *Oxford*, lord *Masham*, *Lewis*, Mrs. *P. Blount* (allow one woman to the list, for she is as constant to old friendships as any man); and many young men there are, nay all that are any credit to this age, who love you unknown, who kindle at your fire, and learn by your genius. Nothing of you can die, nothing of you can decay, nothing of you can suffer, nothing of you can be obscured, or locked up from esteem and admiration, except what is at the Deanry; just as much of you only as God made mortal. May the rest of you (which is all) be as happy hereafter as honest men may expect and need not doubt; while (knowing nothing more) they know, that their Maker is merciful. Adieu. | Your's ever, | A. Pope.

Pierpont Morgan Library

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

[Dublin, 21 November 1738]

My Lord.¹

I intended to write a Long Letter to your Lordship, but this will prove a short one. (the Inclosed is to my Friend and your true Admirer Mr Pope, and you are to be the sender or Deliverer. If I make twenty Blunders in ten Lines, your Lordship will be well off, I continue my Deafness with some Increase, and shall soon tear the Lungs of poor Mr^s Whiteway: 'I must command you to present my most humble service to my Lady Orrery who hath every good Quality that you can wish for in her Sex, or which can be imagined in either. Have either of you any Commands for me on this Side,² if You have, although I be too giddy to perform them in Person, I will employ my Deputyes, particularly Mrs Whiteway, who desires to present her most humble Respects to Your Lordship. If you see My Lord and Lady Oxford, You will please to do the same for me, with a million gratefull Thoughts for them both: | I am my most

¹ Lord Orrery has headed the letter, 'Nov:^{br}: 21 1738. | N^o 20'. Ball prints less than half this short letter, omitting the latter part enclosed within half-brackets.

² Lord and Lady Orrery had crossed to England in September.

Swift to the Earl of Orrery

21 November 1738

Dear Lord, | Your Lordships most obliged | and most obedient
Serv^t | J: Swift.

Dublin. Nov^{br}. 21. | 1738⁷

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

Nov. 27, 1738.

I never liked a letter from you on your usual days of coming here, for it always brings me bad news. I am heartily sorry for your son's continuing his illness, and that you have now two patients in your house. In the mean time pray take care of your health, chiefly your wicked cholic, and Mrs. *Harrison's* disposition to a fever. I hope at least things will be better on *Thursday*,¹ else I shall be full of the spleen, because it is a day you seem to regard, although I detest it, and I read the third chapter of *Job* that morning.² I am deafer than when you saw me last, and indeed am quite cast down. My hearty love and service to Mrs. *Harrison*. I thoroughly pity you in your present circumstances. I am ever yours entirely. God support you!

J. Swift.

Deane Swift 1768

Miss Katharine Richardson to Mrs. Whiteway

Belturbet, November 29, 1738.

Dear Madam,³

It was a very unequal match that the Dean and you should join in a plot against my uncle and me: you could not fail of carrying your point. Any thing the Dean hath a hand in, is done in the most genteel and surprizing manner. I fairly own I am caught: I would be

¹ His birthday, 30 Nov.

² This chapter he always read upon his birth-day.—Deane Swift. 'Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said, There is a man child conceived.'

³ As appears from this letter Mrs. Whiteway had written to tell Miss Richardson that she had a parcel for her, which Miss Richardson concluded was from her uncle, but which on its reaching her proved to be a present of a diamond ring from Swift.—Ball.

29 November 1738

Miss K. Richardson to Mrs. Whiteway

glad to know what my uncle will think of himself when he hears the part he acted in it. I have been so well accustomed to receive presents of value from him, that I thought it had been a piece of edging, or some light thing, which he had committed to your care to be forwarded to me. Never was I so surprized as I was when I read your letter, to think I had received a present from so great a person as the Dean; but when I looked upon it, and knew the expence it must be to him, I was quite confounded: it was too great an honour for me, who can never deserve the least favour from him: it is a most beautiful diamond; I own I am proud of finery now, which I never was in my life before. I am highly obliged to you for your improvement of the ring: the Dean's hair and name have made it a treasure to me, and I really believe it will be thought so a thousand years hence, if it can be kept so long. I am sure it shall by me, as long as I live, with as much care as I keep my eyes, while I have them to look upon it.

My sister, who had the honour of waiting upon you in town, and brought me the ring very safe, is full of acknowledgments for your civilities to her, and returns you her most sincere thanks, with her humble service. Pray give mine most affectionately to Miss *Harrison*. I am, dear Madam, your most obliged and most humble servant, |
Kath. Richardson.

B.M. Egerton MS. 201, f. 4

The Countess of Orrery to Swift

Marston, Dec^{br} 4: 1738.

Reverend Sir,

An Irish woman and a true lover of her Country, though never so soberly inclined, could not let the Thirtieth of last month pass without a large Bumper most devoutly drank; not in honour to the Patron of Scotland:¹ but to wish long Life and Health to the Patron and best friend of poor Ireland; we all joyned in that Health; and I think that I made a very good appearance dressed from Head to Foot in our Hibernian Manufacture.

In troubling you with this Letter, I do not mean to give you the fatigue of an answer; but must beg that you will order Mr Faulkner to give us some account of your state of Health, which will ever be

¹ St. Andrew's Day falls on 30 Nov.

The Countess of Orrery to Swift

4 December 1738

a chief concern to my Lord (who is as much yours as friendship & obligations can make a man) & me who though my acquaintance is of a later date, yet was ever your admirer, and hope these many years to subscribe myself Mr Deans | Most Obedient | Humble Servant, | Margaret Orrery.

Endorsed by Swift: Countess of Orrery | On my Birth day | Dated Dec^{br} 4th | 1738.

Deane Swift 1768

William Richardson to Swift

London, January 2d, 1738-9.

Sir,

I am called upon, by many provocations, to prefer a bill of indictment against you, and a female accomplice of yours;¹ for that by the use of means very uncommon, which were in your power only, you have turned the head of a well-meaning country girl of plain sense, who had been very useful to me, and esteemed by her acquaintance.² I have seen of late many symptoms of her disorder: it is true, that the fascination of your works had before operated strongly upon her; for scarce any opportunity occurred but she poured forth her admiration of the author, and can repeat without book all your poems better than her catechism; however, she could attend to domestic affairs, and give proper directions about matters in the kitchen and larder, &c. and when she did not pore upon your writings, or some other books (I cannot say of the like kind) she was at work, or seeing that things in her province were as they should be: but now truly it appears she apprehends that heretofore she had not discovered her own value and importance. To be taken notice of by a person she has long thought to be the greatest genius any age hath produced, and whom she worshippeth with an adoration that to any mortal rises almost to idolatry, hath, it is much to be feared, transported her with conceit and vanity, and where it will end, I know not. What you have done proceeded, no doubt, from a malicious intention towards me as well as the poor girl; and I resent it accordingly, as I hope she will do when she returns to her senses.

¹ Mrs. Whiteway.

² His niece.

2 January 1738-9

William Richardson to Swift

I was greatly rejoiced, dear Sir, to learn from the prime-serjeant *Singleton*,¹ that he found you extremely well in every respect, except your hearing; and in that he said you were much better than he expected. That man, who has as true a heart as ever I met with, most entirely loves as well as admires you.

This place affords no news at present. I am detained by affairs of importance that relate to my friends, and cannot yet say when they will allow me to return. I pass my time, now and then, with some of Mr. *Pope*'s most intimate friends; and although I would have great pleasure in being known to him, that of the present age comes next to you in fame, I shall not be introduced to him, unless I shall have the honour not to be thought wholly unworthy to deliver him a letter from the Dean of *St. Patrick*'s.

Alderman *Barber* got a fall in his parlour on his hip, by his foot getting into a hole of the carpet; it brought a fit of the gout upon him, and he is still somewhat lame in his hip; but otherwise in very good health and spirits.

Doctor *Squire* holds out surprisingly: as soon as the vacancy shall happen, I will have notice, and there is no doubt but Mr. *Dunkin* will succeed him. I am ever, dear Sir, with the highest esteem and respect, your most obliged and most affectionate humble servant, |
William Richardson.

Orrery Papers

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

Marston, January 2nd, 1738/39.

Dear Sir,

The New Year begins as the old year ended, in Storms, in Rain, and all the various Inclemencies of the Sky. The new year finds me in the same Situation the old year left me, a domestic Animal fond of my own House, and loth to quit my Chimney Corner. Year may turn round after year, still I must be your faithful Servant. The Rage of Storms, the Whistling of Winds, the Roar of Thunder, can make no Impression upon my Breast, whatever Effect They may have upon the politics and proceedings of the mighty and the great.

In an Excursion I lately made to London, I heard of matchless

¹ Henry Singleton.

preparations making for a Convention¹ (which poor Sheridan would have called a Contention)² that is to be received with open Arms by the Parliament. I cannot guess what sort of an Animal it is: various are the Speculations upon it: Some say it is a Monster upon which we are to feed during five months to come, and that it is of Bulk sufficient to satisfye the Appetites of the whole English Nation: Others affirm that it is not to be eaten but to be worshipp'd, and others again are of Opinion that it is only a Thing of Straw dress'd up in a Spanish habit. Every man forms a different Idea of it, and for my own Part, I am apt to think it is eatable, and that it will be cramm'd down our Throats be it never so hard of Digestion.

I had a glimpse of Mr. Pope whilst I was in London, and I had a Letter from him two Posts ago. He is lost in the Convention: the very Dunces forgett him, and think of Nothing but Politicks.

Ld B—ke³ is still in England: but lives as privately as his Enemies could wish, and is as silent to the public' as if he was in his Grave.

Lord B—⁴ has lately entertained the Prince at C—r.⁵ We may perhaps see him the first Minister in the next Reign, but in this He Protests he will not be one. L—⁶ is, as usual, a Spaniard in outward Appearance, but very far from One in his Heart.

Dr K— is singing amidst the Muses in St. Mary Hall at Oxford.

Dr. F—⁷ is to resign his Living to his Son, and to live and die Prebend of Westminster and Canon of Xt Church. Who would have thought this some years ago?

In short, all the old Trojans are divided and dispers'd, Some one way, Some another, Some are fled into the Country, Some have taken Refuge at St James's: Some bow at Norfolk House, but others scorn to bend the Knee to any Idol whatever, and of this last Tribe is | Orrery.

¹ The Convention negotiated by Walpole with Spain. On the reopening of Parliament, 1 Feb., it was clamorously attacked by the opposition, and the vote of approval was only carried by a narrow majority.

² Sheridan had died recently, 10 Oct. 1738, not long after a quarrel with Swift.

³ Bolingbroke.

⁴ Bathurst.

⁵ Cirencester.

⁶ Lewis.

⁷ Robert Freind, ex-headmaster of Westminster School. In the same year, 1711, that he became headmaster he was presented to the rectory of Witney in Oxfordshire (Hearne's *Collections*, iii. 117). On 26 Mar. 1739, by permission of Bishop Hoadly, he resigned the living of Witney and made it over to his son.

5 January 1738-9

William King to Swift

Deane Swift 1768

William King to Swift

St. Mary-Hall, Oxford, January 5th, 1738-9.

Sir,

At length I have put *Rochefaucault* to the press, and about ten or twelve days hence it will be published. But I am in great fear lest you should dislike the liberties I have taken. Although I have done nothing without the advice and approbation of those among your friends in this country, who love and esteem you most, and zealously interest themselves in every thing that concerns your character.¹ As they are much better judges of mankind than I am, I very readily submitted to their opinion; however, if after having received the printed copies, which I will send you next week, you shall still resolve to have the poem published as intire as you put it into my hands, I will certainly obey your commands, if I can find a proper person to undertake the work. I shall go to *London* the latter end of the next week, when I'll write to you by a private hand more fully than I can venture to do by the post.

I was at *Twickenham* in the *Christmas* week. Mr. *Pope* had just then received a letter from you,² and had the pleasure of hearing you were well and in good spirits. May those good spirits continue with you to the last hour!

Believe me to be, with the greatest truth, Sir, your most obedient and most faithful servant, | W.K.

Pray do me the honour to present my most humble service to Mrs. *Whiteway*.

¹ King, who had been entrusted with the manuscript of *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, acting on the advice of Pope, took great liberties with the text, not only making large excisions but introducing lines from the earlier *Life and Genuine Character*. Swift, dissatisfied with the London version, published by Bathurst, commissioned Faulkner to print the complete poem in Dublin. The London edition contained 381 lines, Faulkner's edition 484. For a full account of the two versions see *Poems*, pp. 551-3.

² This letter is missing.

Deane Swift 1768

Deane Swift to Swift

Jan. 12, 1738-9.

Sir,

I had so great an honour conferred upon me yesterday, that I know not how to express the obligations I lie under for it, unless, by endeavouring to make myself worthy of your present, I can demonstrate to the world that I daily improve in wisdom and knowledge, by studying in those books, which since the beginning of my life I have for ever esteemed to be a compleat library of taste, wit, poetry, and politicks; yes, and in spite of dulness and prejudice, I will venture to say of religion also.¹ This I am sure of, that so great a present from so great a person, and in a manner so handsome and so extraordinary, it is absolutely impossible I should ever be honoured with again. I always thought I added to my own reputation whenever I pointed out some of those excellencies which shine through every page of them. But to be thought worthy of receiving them from your hands, was infinitely beyond even what my vanity could hope for. I have flattered myself for many years, that to the best of my power I have continually fought under the banners of Liberty, and that I have been ready, at a moment's call, either to lay down my life in the defence of it, or, whenever there should appear any probability of success, to vindicate and assert that claim, which every man in every country has by nature a right to insist upon; but whatever principles have guided my actions hitherto, I shall from this moment enlist myself under the conduct of Liberty's General; and whenever I desert her ensigns, to fight under those of Tyranny and Oppression, then, and not till then, will I part with those books which you have so highly honoured me with, and cast them into the flames, that I may never afterwards be reproached either by the sight of them, or the remembrance of the donor. I am, Sir, with the highest esteem, your most obliged and most obedient humble servant, | Deane Swift.

¹ It may be presumed that this gift was a copy of Faulkner's edition of Swift's *Works*. At Marsh's Library, Dublin, in April 1967, the first volume was exhibited of the set in six volumes, 1738 (Teerink no. 42), now privately owned, bearing the autograph inscription: 'These six volumes being reputed the Works of JSDD—DSPD are bestowed as a new-Years-Gift to Deane Swift Esq^r; who as it is sayd, would not be displeased to receive them. | Jonath: Swift | Deanry-House | Jan^{ry} 1st 1738-9'.

23 January 1738-9

William King to Swift

Deane Swift 1768

William King to Swift

London, Jan. 23d, 1738-9.

Sir,

I hope you received a letter I wrote to you from *Oxford*, about the thirtieth of last month, in which I acquainted you with the publication of *Roche foucault*; and as I interest myself most heartily in every thing that concerns your character as an author, so I take great pleasure in telling you, that none of your works have been better received by the public than this poem. I observe this with more than ordinary satisfaction, because I may urge the approbation of the public as some kind of apology for myself, if I shall find you are dissatisfied with the form in which this poem now appears. But if that should happen, all the rest of your friends on this side of the water must share the blame with me; for I have absolutely conformed myself to their advice and opinion as to the manner of the publication. There are some lines, indeed, which I omitted with a very ill will, and for no other reason but because I durst not insert them, I mean the story of the medals: however, that incident is pretty well known, and care has been taken that almost every reader may be able to supply the blanks. That part of the poem which mentions the death of queen *Anne*, and so well describes the designs of the ministry, which succeeded upon the accession of the late king, I would likewise willingly have published, if I could have done it with safety: but I don't know whether the present worthy set of ministers would not have construed this passage into high treason, by aid of the new doctrine of innuendos: at least a lawyer, whom I consulted on this occasion, gave me some reason to imagine this might be the case. I am in truth more cautious than I used to be, well knowing that my superiors look on me at present with a very evil eye, as I am the reputed author of the *Latin* poem I have sent you by the same gentleman, who does me the favour to deliver you this letter: for although that piece hath escaped the state inquisition, by being written in a language that is not at present very well understood at court, and might perhaps puzzle the attorney-general to explain, yet the scope of the poem and principal characters being well understood, the author must hereafter expect no mercy, if he gives his enemies any grounds or colour to attack him. But notwithstanding all my caution, if I perceive you dislike this manner

William King to Swift

23 January 1738-9

and form of the poem, I will, some way or other, contrive that it may be published as you shall direct. I say nothing about your manuscript of the History, because I have been assured by Lord Orrery and Mr. Pope that you are satisfied with Mr. Lewis's Letters, and have suspended the publication of that work in consequence of his representation.

I send you my best wishes, and I hope you will yet live many years in a perfect state, for the sake of your friends, for the benefit of your country, and for the honour of mankind; and I beg you to believe that I am with the greatest truth, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, | W.K.

Deane Swift 1768

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

January 30, 1738-9.

Madam,

A very kind letter, which I have just received from you, has put me into great confusion. I beg of you to be assured, that I think myself under the highest obligations to you, and that I set a true value on the friendship with which you have honoured me, and shall endeavour to preserve it as long as I live. If our correspondence has been interrupted, it hath been wholly owing to the ill treatment I received from the post-office; for some time I did not receive a letter that had not been opened, and very often my letters were delivered to me with the seals torn off. Whether these post-officers really thought me, what I never thought myself, a man of importance, or whether they imagined my letters were a cover for some greater name, I don't know; but for my part, I grew peevish, to find my friendships, and all my little chit-chat, must constantly be exposed to the view of every dirty fellow, that had leisure or curiosity enough to examine my letters. However, for some little time past, I have not had the same cause of complaint. Your letter was delivered to me in good condition; I begin to think my superiors no longer suspect me of holding any unwarrantable correspondence, especially since I find I may now venture to write to the Dean, even by the *Oxford* post. Notwithstanding what you say, I am in some pain about *Rochefoucauld*, and doubt much whether he will be satisfied with the manner in which he finds it published; to which I consented

30 January 1738-9

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

in deference to Mr. *Pope's* judgment, and the opinion of others of the Dean's friends in this country, who, I am sure, love and honour him, and kindly concern themselves in everything that may affect him. The town has received this piece so well, that in all parts, and in all companies, I hear it extremely commended; and not only the Dean's friends, but his greatest enemies, acknowledge that he hath not lost any part of his fire, and of that inimitable turn of wit and humour so peculiar to himself. For my part, I never read any of his works either in prose or verse, that I do not call to mind that short character which Cardinal Polignac gave him in speaking to me, *Il a l'esprit créateur*, which I mentioned to you in a former letter, if I remember rightly.¹ It may not be amiss to tell you, that one *Gally*, or *Gaillie*,² since this poem was printed, offered it to sale to a book-seller at *Temple-bar*; and I am now told that there are two or three copies more in London. *Gaillie* pretends that he is just come from Ireland, and that he had directions to publish the poem here; so that perhaps the whole may at last appear, whether he will or not.

I am glad to hear that my friend Mr. *Swift* is well. When are we to see him again in *Oxford*? Since you appeal to him for a voucher, although you need none with me, let him likewise do me the justice to tell you, that he never heard me mention your name but with the greatest esteem and respect; with which I shall ever be, Madam, your most obedient and most faithful servant, | W.K.

I sent the Dean a packet by the gentleman under whose cover I send you this.

Huntington Library HM 14389

Swift to John Barber

[Dublin, 16 February 1738-9]

My dear good old Friend

The young Gentleman who delivers you this, lyes under one great disadvantage, that he is one of my Relations,³ and those are of

¹ Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, Abbé as he then was, acted as plenipotentiary for Louis XIV at the treaty of Utrecht. Swift mentions him favourably in his *History of the Four Last Years* as 'most in the Secret of his Court' and 'a most accomplished Person, of great Generosity, and universal Understanding' (ed. Davis, pp. 62, 159). His famous work *Anti-Lucretius, sive de Deo et natura*, 1747, was intended as a refutation of Lucretius.

² Not identified.

³ William Swift, a younger son of Godwin Swift, the eldest surviving son of

all Mortals what I most despise and hate; except one Mr^s Whiteway and her Daughter. You must understand that the Mother has the Insolence to say that you have heard of her, and know her Character. She is a perfect Irish Teague born in Cheshire, and lived as I remember, at Warrington.¹ The young Gentleman who waits upon you hath a very good Countenance, hath been entred three years at the Temple (as it is the usuall Customs) but I think was never yet in England, nor does he know any one Person there: However, as it is easy to find you, who are so well known, and so much esteemed, he will attend you with this Letter, and you will please to instruct him in the usuall Methods of entring himself in the Temple. He is a younger Brother, but hath an Estate of a hundred Pounds a year, which will make a Shift to support him in a frugal way. He is also a very good Person of a Man; and Mrs Whiteway says, he hath a virtuous Disposition. My Disorders of Deafness, Forgetfulness, and other Aylments added to a dead weight of 70 years, make me weary of Life. But my Comfort is, that in your² I find your Vigour and Health increase. Pray God continue both to you: I am, My dear Friend with very great Esteem and Affection, Your most obedient and | most humble Servant | J: Swift.

Dublin

Febr 16.

1738-9 Do you ever see any of our old Friends? if you visit Mr Lewis I must charge you to present him with my kind and hearty service: and, how or where is My L^d Bolingbroke, and Mr Pope?

I am very much obliged to you for the Favours you have shewn to Mr Richardson: He is a very Prudent, good-natured Gentleman; if you see him, pray make him my Compliments. So, my dear Friend, once more adieu.

Swift's uncle Godwin. He was also related to Swift, through his mother, who was his father's first cousin, a daughter of Swift's uncle William. He was entered at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1728, was admitted to the Middle Temple, and called to the Irish Bar.

¹ Mrs. Whiteway was born at the time of the Revolution, when her father was no doubt one of the fugitives from Ireland who sought shelter in the neighbourhood of Chester.—Ball.

² The word, the last on the first page of the letter, is thus written by Swift. Probably his intention, before turning the leaf, was a different continuation of the sentence, or it may be no more than a slip for 'you'.

6 March 1738-9

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

Deane Swift 1768

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

London, March 6, 1738-9.

Madam,

I do not remember anything published in my time that hath been so universally well received as the Dean's last poem.¹ Two editions have been already sold off, though two thousand were printed at first. In short, all people read it, all agree to commend it; and I have been well assured, the greatest enemies the Dean hath in this country, allow it to be a just and a beautiful satire. As I am very sincerely and sensibly affected by everything that may raise the Dean's character as a writer (if any thing can raise it higher) so you may believe I have had the greatest pleasure in observing the success and general approbation which this poem hath met with; wherefore I was not a little mortified yesterday, when the bookseller brought me the *Dublin* edition, and at the same time put into my hands a letter he had received from *Faulkner*, by which I perceive the Dean is much dissatisfied with our manner of publication, and that so many lines have been omitted, if *Faulkner* speaks truth, and knows as much of the Dean's mind as he pretends to know. *Faulkner* hath sent over several other copies to other booksellers; so that I take it for granted this poem will soon be reprinted here from the *Dublin* edition, and then it may be perceived how much the Dean's friends have been mistaken in their judgment, however good their intentions have been. In the mean time I will write to you on this occasion without any reserve; for I know you love the Dean, and kindly and zealously interest yourself in every thing that concerns his character, and if you will believe the same of me, you will do me great justice.

The Doctor's friends, whom I consulted on this occasion, were of opinion, that the latter part of the poem might be thought by the public a little vain, if so much were said by himself of himself. They were unwilling that any imputation of this kind should lie against this poem, considering there is not the least tincture of vanity appearing in any of his former writings, and that it is well known, there is no man living more free from that fault than he is.

They were of opinion that these lines,

¹ *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift.*

He lash'd the vice, but spared the name,
No individual could resent
Where thousands equally were meant—¹

might be liable to some objections, and were not, strictly speaking, a just part of his character; because several persons have been lashed by name, a *Bettesworth*, and in this poem, *Charteris* and *Whitshed*,² and for my part, I do not think, or ever shall think, that it is an imputation on a satirist to lash an infamous fellow by name.

The lines which begin,

Here's *Wolston's* Tracts, the twelfth edition, &c.³

are plainly a mistake, and were omitted for that reason only; for *Wolston* never had a pension, on the contrary, he was prosecuted for his blasphemous writings; his books was burnt by the hands of the common hangman; he himself was imprisoned, and died in prison. *Wollaston*, the author of a book called, *The Religion of Nature delineated*, was indeed much admired at Court, his book universally read, his busto set up by the late Queen in her grotto at *Richmond* with *Clarke's* and *Locke's*; but this *Wollaston* was not a clergyman.

The two last lines,

That kingdom he hath left his debtor,
I wish it soon may have a better—⁴

I omitted, because I did not well understand them; a *better* what?—There seems to be what the grammarians call an *antecedent* wanting for that word; for neither *kingdom* or *debtor* will do, so as to make it sense, and there is no other antecedent. The Dean is, I think, without exception, the best and most correct writer of *English* that hath ever yet appeared as an author; I was therefore unwilling any thing should be cavilled at as ungrammatical. He is besides the most patient of criticism of all I ever knew, which perhaps is not the least sign of a great genius—I have therefore ventured to make these

¹ *Poems*, p. 571.

² *Poems*, pp. 560, 569.

³ *Poems*, p. 564. Thomas Woolston (1670-1733) became a fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and took orders; but his freethinking tracts, which ran into a number of editions, brought him to trial for blasphemy. He was imprisoned in the King's Bench, and died within its rules. William Wollaston (1660-1724), also of Sidney Sussex College, was, despite King's denial, a clergyman; but his *Religion of Nature Delineated* led to doubts of his orthodoxy. Neither ever received a pension.

⁴ *Poems*, p. 572.

6 March 1738-9

William King to Mrs. Whiteway

objections to you; in which, however, for the most part, I submitted my own opinion to the judgment of others. I had something to add concerning the notes, but I have not room in this paper—but I will give you the trouble of reading another letter. Believe me, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant, | W.K.

Berkeley, Literary Relics

Mrs. Whiteway to William Richardson

[28 March 1739]

Sir,

Two days ago I had the very great pleasure to hear from Mr. Swift¹ you were well. The acknowledgements he professes in his letters to the Dean and me of your extraordinary civilities to him, make me perfectly ashamed to think how ill I shall acquit myself by only being able to say I most sincerely thank you. What an opportunity have you laid in my way of saying a thousand fine things on this subject; and yet I can only tell you (what you already know to be a great truth), that you have acted in this as you do in every thing, friendly, politely, and genteelly. All the return I can make, is to give you farther room to exercise a virtue which great minds only feel, that of doing good to an ingenuous worthy honest gentleman. The person I mean is Counsellor M'Aulay; one of those who stand candidates for member of parliament to represent the university of Dublin, in the place of Dr. Coghill deceased.² The Dean of St. Patrick's appears openly for *him*; and I have his leave and command to tell you, if you can do Mr. M'Aulay a piece of friendship on this occasion with any person of distinction in England, he will receive the favour as done to himself. After I have mentioned the Dean, how trifling will it be to speak of myself? and yet I most earnestly entreat your interest in this affair; and for this reason, because it will never lie in my way to make you any return; so that only true generosity can inspire you to do any thing at my request. After all, I am not so very unreasonable as to desire a favour of this nature if it

¹ William Swift (see p. 137) had evidently been recommended to Richardson as well as to Barber.

² Marmaduke Coghill, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Judge of the Prerogative Court, had died on 9 Mar.

Mrs. Whiteway to W. Richardson

28 March 1739

be irksome to you. Tell me, Sir, can you do anything in this matter? and will you undertake it? for your word I know can be depended upon. There is one hint that perhaps I am impertinent in offering, that all great bodies of men (or who at least think themselves so), let their inclinations be ever so much in prejudice of one person (as I take it to be the case of Mr. M'Aulay), yet wait for the interfering of the *higher powers*; so that if, by your good offices, the Lord Lieutenant can be prevailed on to recommend him to the Provost and Fellows of the University, his interest would be certainly fixed; but this, and the manner of doing it, I submit to your superior judgment.

The Dean of St. Patrick's presents you his most affectionate love and service;—these were his own words. He is better both in health and hearing than I have known him these twelve months, but so indolent in writing, that he will scarce put his name to a receipt for money. This he hath likewise ordered me to tell you as an apology for not writing to you himself, and not want of the highest esteem for you. Do you, Sir, ever intend to see this kingdom again? What time may we expect it? When may I hope you will perform your promise to let Miss Richardson spend some months with me? and do you ever intend to write again to your friends in Dublin? I am, Sir, with the highest esteem and respect, your most humble and obedient servant | Mar. Whiteway.

Mar. 28. 1739.

Deane Swift 1768

William Richardson to Mrs. Whiteway

London, April 5, 1739.

Dear Madam,

I am indeed much ashamed that I have so many favours from you to acknowledge at one time. You may believe me when I assure you that my silence hath not proceeded from want of respect and esteem for you. I would not put on the affectation of much business as an excuse to any body, much less to you; although the truth is, that I am hurried almost out of my life with the attendance and writing about things I have undertaken for some friends.

The Dean's recommendation and yours, without any other

5 April 1739

W. Richardson to Mrs. Whiteway

consideration whatever, would induce me to do my utmost to serve Mr. *M'Aulay*, as I have told him by this post, when I thought I should not trouble you with a few lines. He will acquaint you with what I have done, by which you will see that I have lost no time; and I have hopes to obtain the lord lieutenant's countenance for him.

I will endeavour to introduce Mr. *Swift*¹ to the acquaintance of some persons before I leave this; whose countenance and friendship will at least give a young gentleman a good air—his own merit entitles him to the esteem and regard of such as shall have the happiness to be acquainted with him: I am much obliged to you for introducing me to him. I have only time to add my most hearty thanks for the same, and to assure you that any opportunity of expressing the esteem I have for the Dean, which is the highest, and for you, will ever give me the greatest pleasure. I am, Madam, your most obliged and most truly faithful servant, | William Richardson.

Deane Swift 1768

William Richardson to Swift

London, April 10th, 1739.

Dear Sir,

It is an age since I had the honour of a line from you. Your friend Mr alderman *Barber*, whose veneration for you prompts him to do any thing he can think of that can shew his respect and affection, made a present to the university of *Oxford* of the original picture done for you by *Jarvis*, to do honour to the university by your being placed in the gallery among the most renowned and distinguished personages this island hath produced; but first had a copy taken, and then had the original set in a fine rich frame, and sent it to *Oxford*, after concerting with lord *Bolingbroke*, the vice chancellor, and Mr. *Pope*, as I remember, the inscription to be under the picture, a copy whereof is inclosed. The alderman had a very handsome compliment from the vice chancellor, in the name of all heads of houses there, and by their direction, wherein there is most honourable mention of the Dean of *St. Patrick's* on that occasion.

Seeing an article in the *London Evening-Post* upon your picture, which was drawn at the request and expence of the chapter of your

¹ *William Swift*, Esq.; then a student at the *Middle Temple*.—Deane Swift.

cathedral, being put up in the deanry;¹ alderman *Barber* took the hint, and caused what you see in the *London Evening-Post* of this day to be printed therein. He knows nothing of my writing to you at this time; but I thought it right that you should be acquainted how intent he is, all manner of ways, to shew the effects of the highest friendship, kindled to a flame by the warmest sense of gratitude, and the most exalted esteem and veneration.

Mrs. *Whiteway* and Mr. *M'Aulay*, can inform you how absolute your commands are with me. Since you recommend him, he is sure of the utmost I can do for him.

Sir, if I have not a few words from you, I shall conclude that you think me troublesome, and are resolved to get rid of my impertinence. It will be two or three months before I can get from hence, although I am impatient to be at home: but wherever I am, or however engaged, I am always, dear Sir, your most obliged and most truly faithful servant, | William Richardson.

My best respects wait upon Mrs. *Whiteway*.

Rothschild²

Swift and Mrs. Whiteway to William Richardson

[17 April 1739]

[SWIFT]

My very good Friend,

I find that Mr^s *Whiteway* pretends to have been long acquainted with you, but upon a strict examination I discovered that all the Acquaintance was onely at the Deanry-House, where she had the good Fortune to see you once or twice at most. I am extreemly obliged to you for your Favours to Mr M^c*Aulay*, whose good Sense and virtues of every kind I have highly esteemed ever since I had the Happyness of knowing him. If he succeeds in his Election It

¹ The reference is to the great full-length portrait by Bindon painted in 1739 at the expense of the Chapter. The portrait, in good preservation, still hangs in the Deanery House. See Sir Frederick Falkiner's essay on the portraits of Swift (*Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott, xii. 27-30).

² This letter was first printed in Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, 1789, pp. 56-59, and next in Nichols's edition of the *Works*, 1801, xviii. 378. The original, then belonging to Lady Harty, was sold by Sotheby, 18 Dec. 1929, lot 659, and is now in Lord Rothschild's Library, no. 2303.

17 April 1739

Swift and Mrs. Whiteway to W. Richardson

will be chiefly by your good Offices, and you have my hearty Thanks for what you have already done. I know you often see my honest hearty Friend Alderman Barber; and pray let him know that I command Him to continue his Friendship to you, although he be your absolute Governour. I am very much obliged to the Alderman and You for your Civilityes to young Swift,¹ M^{rs} Whiteway says he is my Cousin, which will not be to his Advantage, for I hate all Relations, and I

[MRS. WHITEWAY]

S^r I have snatched the pen out of the Dean's hand, who seems by his countenance to incline to finish his letter with my faults, as He began it; where there is so large a scope, and such a writer, you may believe I should not like to have my character Drawn by him, however I think for once, He is mistaken, I mean in the article of what He calls vanity, and which I term a Laudable Ambition, the Honour of being known to you, and bragging of it as some merit in my self, to be distinguished by you. have I not reason to boast when you tell me, My Recommendation will have weight with you? and how great must be the obligation that words cannot express? Gratitude, like Grief, dwells only in the Mind, and can best be guessed at when it is² too great to be told; and most certainly lessens when we are capable of declaring it. I never doubted M^r M^cAulay's success, if you undertook his Cause; nor your indefatigable friendship, for those who have the good fortune to gain your Esteem; M^r Swift I wish may be in the number, this I am sure of that his virtue and honour, will never give me reason to repent that I introduced him to you, which is the only favour I hoped for him. but, you S^r, never do things by Halves.

I know how you are hurried on many occasions, therefore I do not expect a letter unless you are perfectly disengaged. Sometimes we are in such a state of indolence, that half an hour is trifled away in doing nothing; when you find your self in this situation tell me in two or three lines, you are well, and command Miss Richardson to come to me. My Daughter most earnestly joyns with me in this request and entreats you to believe that she is with as great respect as I am S^r | y^r most humble & most | obe^t ser^t M: Whiteway

April. 17th | 1739

Address: To | Will^m Richardson Esq^r

Endorsed, probably by Richardson: 17 April 1739 Doct^r Swift & Mrs Whiteway

¹ See p. 137, n. 3.

² is] was *Ball*.

Deane Swift 1768

William Richardson to Swift

London, April 17, 1739.

Dear Sir,¹

I wrote this morning to Mrs. *Whiteway* a few lines in much hurry, and I write this to you in *Guildhall*, by Alderman *Barber's* direction. Beside a letter from you to the Society, whose address is in Mrs. *Whiteway's* letter, he thinks a memorial or petition from Mr. *Dunkin* to the Society will be of use; and if you write to Mr. *Pope*, the alderman thinks he will get one vote, which he can fix no way of obtaining but through *Pope*. I am ever, dear Sir, your most obliged and most affectionate humble servant, | William Richardson.

I should think it would be right in Mr. *Dunkin* to come over the moment he hears of *Squire's* death. I wrote by this post to a nephew, to let you know the moment he dies, if the life should be in him when my letter goes to him.

Huntington Library HM 14390

Swift to John Barber

[Dublin, 19 April 1739]

My dear old Friend

At last Doctor Squire is actually dead, He dyed upon the 14th day of this Month, and now you have the Opportunity of obliging me in giving Squire's Living of² Colerain to Mr William Dunkin who is an excellent Scholar, and keeps a School³ in my Neighborhood, besides, he is a very fine Poet: My Friend Mr Richardson can give you a better Account of Him. It is true, Mr Dunkin is a married man; however, that is of no great moment, and in the Northern Country of Ireland, although it be the best inhabited part of the Kingdom, a Wife will be convenient. Yet, we two old Batchelors (I own I am your Senior) could never consent to take so

¹ It was designed to bestow Squire's living on Dunkin. See note on Swift's letter to Barber, 17 Jan. 1737-8. Richardson had evidently been informed that Squire was *in extremis*. He had, in fact, died on the 14th.

² 'Of' substituted for 'near', which has been struck through.

³ Dunkin had been appointed master of one of the best known of Dublin schools.

19 April 1739

Swift to John Barber

good Example; by endeavoring to multiply the World. I heartily thank you for Your Civilityes to young Swift, It seems he is a Relation of mine, And, there is one Mr^s Whiteway a Widow, the onely Cousin of my Family for whom I have any sort of Friendship; It was she prevayled with me to introduce the young Man to You. He is a younger Brother, and his Portion is onely 100^l a year English. You will oblige me¹ if you can bear seeing him once a Quarter at his Lodging near the Temple where He designs to Study the Law. And so I have done with overtroubling you my dear Friend. Where is Mr Lewis, some months ago He writ to me with many Complaints of his ill Health, and the Effect of old Age, in both which I can overmatch You and Him; besides my Giddy Head, Deafness, and Forgetfullness into the Bargain I hear our Friend L^d Bolingbr— hath sold Dawly; I wish you could tell me in what Condition he is both as to Health and Fortune; and where his Lady lives, and how they agree. If you visit My Lord and Lady Oxford, and their Daughter who is now as I hear, a Dutchess, or any other Friend of Ours, let them have the offers of my humble Service. May you, my most dear Friend preserve your Health, and live as long as you desire. I am ever with the greatest Truth and Esteem | Your most obedient humble | Servant and entire Friend | Jonath: Swift.

Dublin. April

19th. 1739.

I desire you will give my most | hearty Service to Mr Pope, and let | him know that I have provided | for Mr Lamb² whom he recommended | to me, with a full Vicar-Chorallship | in my Quire. And pray let me know | the state of Mr Pope's Health

Berkeley, Literary Relics

Mrs. Whiteway to William Richardson

[19 April 1739]

Sir,

I now give you an opportunity of adding a new petition in your prayers;—*From female impertinence, good Lord deliver me.* Yet this

¹ Two words heavily obliterated after 'me'.

² The reason for Pope's recommendation of Lamb appears in his letter to Swift of 12 Oct. 1738.

trouble you brought on yourself; and therefore I will make no apology for it. Mr. Dunkin's case comes now under your care. You were the first promoter of it; and to you only are his obligations due. Mr. Squire died the 14th of this month; and by this post the Dean hath writ to Alderman Barber in Mr. Dunkin's favour. He hath commanded me to intreat your friendship for him with the Alderman and the society, and says, he knows you will pardon him that he doth not write to you himself on the occasion; for his head is very much out of order to-day. There is one article in the Dean's letter he hath left out, and another inserted, much against my inclination. The first is, that he omitted mentioning Mr. Dunkin as a worthy good man, which in my opinion is more material than being a poet or a scholar; although, when joined with these, make a most amiable character: the other is, troubling the Alderman to know there is such an insignificant person in the world as Mrs. Whiteway; but the tyrant Dean will say and do just as he pleases. The inclosed was sent me by Mr. Dunkin, not knowing how to direct to you. I now promise you, Sir, to tease you no more with my letters, unless you command me to pay you my most humble respects; and then you shall be obeyed with pleasure, by, Sir, your much obliged and most obedient humble servant, | Mar. Whiteway.

April 19. 1739.

Address: To William Richardson, Esq;

Deane Swift 1765

Swift to the Irish Society

[19 April 1739]¹

Worthy Gentlemen,

I heartily recommend to your very Worshipful Society, the Reverend Mr. William Dunkin, for the living of Colerain, vacant by the death of Dr. Squire. Mr. Dunkin is a gentleman of great learning and wit, true religion, and excellent morals. It is only for these qualifications that I recommend him to your patronage; and

¹ This letter, as first printed by Deane Swift in 1765, was dated 'By conjecture, 1738'. [It seems to have been written in direct response to Richardson's letter from London, 17 April (p. 146), which would have taken at least four or five days to reach Dublin.]

19 April 1739

Swift to the Irish Society

I am confident that you will never repent the choice of such a man, who will be ready at any time to obey your commands. You have my best wishes, and all my endeavours for your prosperity: And I shall, during my life, continue to be, with the truest respect and highest esteem, | WORTHY SIRS, | Your most obedient and | Most humble Servant, | Jonath. Swift.

Address: To the Honourable the SOCIETY of the GOVERNOUR and ASSISTANTS, London, for the NEW PLANTATION in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland, at their Chamber in Guild-Hall, London.

Deane Swift 1768

The Rev. William Dunkin to Mrs. Whiteway

Apr. 25, 1739.

Madam,

As it was through your countenance I had the honour of being first introduced to the most worthy Dean of *St. Patrick*, I must have thought myself under the highest obligation to you; but the continuance of your friendship, through so many repeated acts of generosity, and the course of his gracious endeavours to raise my reputation and fortune, are such things as I must ever remember and express with a very deep sense of gratitude.

The fatigue of writing so many letters lately in my favour, was indeed what I could not in reason expect even from his humanity, were I worthy of them; and I can only say, the Dean of *St. Patrick* is unwearied in doing good, and that He who could rise to preserve a nation, will descend to relieve an individual.

The sense of my own demerit, and the just awe in which I stand before so great and good a man, will not allow me either that freedom of speech, or writing, which is requisite to let him understand with what love, veneration, and respect of his person I reflect upon the many instances of his tender concern and uncommon zeal for my welfare. This is a duty I most earnestly wish, but am altogether unable to perform, and such as I entreat you, dear Madam, to undertake for me; your compliance in which will be yet another, among the many and weighty obligations laid upon your most dutiful, obedient, devoted servant, | William Dunkin.

Faulkner 1746

Swift to Alexander Pope

Dear Sir,

Dublin, April 28, 1739.¹

The Gentleman who will have the Honour to deliver you this, although he be one related to me, which is by no Means any Sort of Recommendation; for, I am utterly void of what the World calls natural Affection, and with good Reason, because they are a numerous Race, degenerating from their Ancestors, who were of good Esteem for their Loyalty and Sufferings in the Rebellion against King Charles the First. This Cousin of mine, who is so desirous to wait on you, is named Deane Swift; because his Great Grandfather, by the Grandmother's Side, was Admiral Deane, who having been one of the Regicides, had the good Fortune to save his Neck by dying a Year or two before the Restoration.

I have a great Esteem for Mr. Deane Swift, who is much the most valuable of any in his Family: He was first a Student in this University, and finished his Studies in Oxford, where Dr. King (Principal of St. Mary Hall) assured me that Mr. Swift behaved himself with good Reputation and Credit; He hath a very good Taste for Wit, writes agreeable and entertaining Verses, and is a perfect Master equally skilled in the best Greek and Roman Authors. He hath a true Spirit for Liberty, and with all these Advantages, is extremely decent and modest. Mr. Swift is Heir to the little paternal Estate of our Family at Goodrich in Herefordshire. My Grandfather was so persecuted and plundered two and fifty Times by the Barbarity of Cromwell's Hellish Crew, (of which I found an Account in a Book called *Mercurius Rusticus*)² that the poor old Gentleman was forced to sell the better half of his Estate to support his Family. However, three of his Sons had better Fortune; for coming over to this Kingdom, and taking to the Law,³ they all purchased good

¹ In some copies Faulkner printed this letter at the very end of vol. viii (1746) of Swift's *Works* with the head note: 'After we had printed the foregoing Letters in this Volume, we were favoured with the following one from London.'

² Swift himself added here against the fragment of Autobiography in Trinity College, Dublin, MS. 1050, the following note: 'See a book called *Mercurius Rusticus*, and another in folio called "The Lives of those who suffered persecution for K.Ch.I.".' Cf. Forster, *Life*, p. 7, n. 3.

³ The sons to whom Swift refers are Godwin, William, and Adam.

28 April 1739

Swift to Alexander Pope

Estates here, of which Mr. Deane Swift hath a good Share, but with some Incumbrance.

I had a Mind that this young Gentleman should have the Honour of being known to you, which is all the Favour I ask for him; and that if he stays any time longer in London than he now intends, you will permit him to wait on you sometimes. | I am, | My Dearest Friend, | Your Most Obedient and | Most Humble Servant, | J. Swift.

Deane Swift 1765

Swift to Alexander Pope

May 10th, 1739, at a conjecture.

You are to suppose, for the little time I shall live, that my memory is entirely gone, and especially of any thing that was told me last night, or this morning. I have one favour to entreat from you. I know the high esteem and friendship you bear to your friend Mr. *Lyttelton*, whom you call the rising genius of this age.¹ His fame, his virtue, honour, and courage, have been early spread even among us. I find he is secretary to the Prince of *Wales*; and his Royal Highness hath been for several years Chancellor of the University in Dublin. All this is a prelude to a request I am going to make you. There is in this city one Alexander M'Aulay, a lawyer of great distinction for skill and honesty, zealous for the liberty of the subject, and loyal to the House of Hanover; and particularly to the Prince of Wales, for his highness's love to both kingdoms.

Mr. M'Aulay is now soliciting for a seat in parliament here, vacant by the death of Dr. Coghill, a civilian, who was one of the persons chosen for this university: And, as his Royal Highness continues still Chancellor of it, there is no person so proper to nominate the representative as himself. If this favour can be procured, by your good-will and Mr. Lyttelton's interest, it will be a particular obligation to me, and grateful to the people of Ireland, in giving them one of their own nation to represent this university.

¹ Pope's phrase was, writing to Swift 12 Oct. 1738, 'one of the worthiest of the rising generation'.

Swift to Alexander Pope

10 May 1739

There is a man in my choir, one Mr. Lamb; he hath at present but half a vicarship: The value of it is not quite 50 *l. per annum*. You writ to me in his favour some time ago; and, if I outlive any one vicar-choral, Mr. Lamb shall certainly have a full place, because he very well deserves it:¹ and I am obliged to you very much for recommending him.

Deane Swift 1768

George Lyttelton to Swift

London, May 16, 1739.

Sir,

I cannot let Mr. *Swift*² return to *Ireland* without my acknowledgements to you for the favour you have done Mr. *Lamb*. I know that I ought to ascribe it wholly to Mr. *Pope*'s recommendation, as I have not the happiness to be known to you myself; but give me leave to take this occasion of assuring you how much I wish to be in the number of your friends. I think I can be so even at this distance, and though we should never come to a nearer acquaintance; for the reputation of some men is amiable, and one can love their characters, without knowing their persons.

If it could ever be in my power to do you any service in this country, the employing me in it would be a new favour to, Sir, your obliged humble servant, | G. Lyttleton.

4806

Alexander Pope to Swift

May 17. 1739

Dearest Sir,

Every time I see your hand, it is the greatest Satisfaction that any Writing can give me, and I am in proportion grieved to find that several of my Letters to testify it to you, miscarry: and you ask me

¹ Swift's memory was at fault. Writing to Barber only three weeks before, 19 Apr. 1739, he asked him to inform Pope that Lamb had been provided with a full vicar-choralship.

² Deane Swift.

17 May 1739

Alexander Pope to Swift

the same Questions again which I proluxly have answer'd before. Your last which was delivered me by Mr Swift inquires where & how is Ld Bolingbroke?¹ who in a Paragraph in my last under his own hand gave you an acct of himself, & I employd almost a whole Letter on his Affairs, afterwards.² He has sold Dawley for 2600oll, much to his own Satisfaction: his Plan of Life is now a very agreeable one in the finest Country of France, divided between Study & Exercise, for he still reads or writes 5 or 6 hours a day, & hunts generally twice a-week: he has the whole Forest of Fontainbleau at his command, with the Kings Stables, Dogs, &c. his Lady's son-in-law being Governour of that place. She resides most part of the Year with my Lord, at a large House they have hired; & the rest with her Daughter, who is Abbess of a Royal Convent in the neighbourhood. I never saw him in stronger Health, or in better humour with his Friends, or more Indifferent & dis-passionate as to his Enemies. He is seriously set upon writing some Parts of the History of his Times, which he has begun by a Noble Introduction, presenting a View of the whole State of Europe from the Pyrenean Treaty: He has hence deduced a Summary Sketch of the Natural & Incidental Interests of each Kingdom; & how they have varied from or approachd to, the True Politicks of each, in the several Administrations to this Time. The History itself will be Particular only on such Facts and Anecdotes, as He personally knew, or produces Vouchers for, both from home & abroad. This puts into my mind to tell you a Fear he express'd lately to me, that some Facts in your History of the Queen's last years, (which he read here with me in 1727) are not exactly stated. & that he may be obliged to vary from them, in relation I believe to the Conduct of the Earl of Oxford: of which great Care surely should be taken: And he told me that when he saw you in 1727, he made you observe them, & that you promis'd to take that care.

We very often commemorated you, during the five months we liv'd together at Twitnam; at which place, could I see You again, as I may hope to see him, I would envy no Country in the world, and think not Dublin only, but France & Italy not worth the visiting once in my Life.

The mention of Travelling introduces your old Acquaintance Mr Jervas, who went to Rome & Naples purely in search of health; an

¹ The passage does not occur in Swift's letter of 28 Apr.

² As Orrery's letter of 2 Jan. shows Bolingbroke was then still in England.

Asthma has reduced his Body, but his Spirit retains all its vigor, and he is returned, declaring Life itself not worth a Day's journey at the expence of parting from one's Friends.¹

Mr Lewis every day remembers you, I lye at his house in Town. Dr Arbuthnot's Daughter does not degenerate from the Humour & Goodness of her Father. I love her much, She is like Gay, very idle, very ingenious, and inflexibly honest. Mrs Patty Bl. is one of the most considerate & mindful Women in the world, toward others, the least so with regard to herself: She speaks of you constantly. I scarce know two more Women worth naming to you; the rest are Ladyes, run after Music, & play at Cards.

I always make your Complements to Ld Oxford & Ld Masham when I see them; I see J. Barber seldom, but always find him proud, of some Letter from you. I did my best with him in behalf of one of your Friends,² and spoke to Mr Lyttelton for the other,³ who was more prompt to catch, than I to give fire, and flew to the Prince that instant, who was as pleas'd, to please You. You ask me how I am at Court? I keep my old Walk, and deviate from it to no Court. The Pr. shews me a distinction beyond any Merit or Pretence on my part, & I have receiv'd a Present from him, of some Marble Heads of Poets, for my library, and some Urnes for my Garden.⁴ The Ministerial Writers rail at me, yet I have no quarrel with their Masters, nor think it of weight enough to complain of them. I am very well with all the Courtiers, I ever was, or would be acquainted with; at least they are Civil to me, which is all I ask from Courtiers, & all a wise man will expect from them. The Duchess of Marlborow makes great Court to me, but I am too Old for her, Mind & body.⁵ Yet I cultivate some Young people's friendship, because they may be honest men, whereas the Old ones, Experience too often proves not to be so. I have droppd ten, where I have taken up one, & hope to play the better with fewer in my hand: There is a Lord Cornbury, a Lord Polwarth, a Mr Murray,⁶ & one or two more, with whom I would never fear to hold out against all the Corruption of the world.

¹ Jervas died 2 Nov. 1739.

² i.e. Dunkin.

³ i.e. Macaulay.

⁴ Pope's grotto was a favourite meeting-place for leaders of the Opposition.

⁵ She was then opposed to Walpole. It was about this time that the Duchess and Pope began to form a friendship.

⁶ Several allusions have been made to Lord Cornbury. Polwarth became the future Earl of Marchmont, and Mr. Murray the future Lord Mansfield.

17 May 1739

Alexander Pope to Swift

You compliment me in vain upon retaining my Poetical Spirit. I am sinking fast into prose; & if I ever write more, it ought, (at these years, & in these Times) to be something, the Matter of which will give value to the Work, not meerly the Manner. Since my *Protest*, (for so I call the Dialogue of 1738) I have written but ten lines, which I will send you. They are an Insertion for the next¹ New Edition of the *Dunciad*, which generally is reprinted once in 2 years. In the second Canto, among the Authors who dive in Fleetditch, immediately after *Arnall*. Vers. 300. add these

Next plung'd a feeble, but a desp'rate pack,
With each a sickly Brother at his back:²
Sons of a *Day*! just buoyant on the flood,
Then number'd with the Puppies in the Mud.
Ask ye their *Names*? I could as soon disclose
The names of these blind Puppies, as of those.
Fast by, like Niobë, her children gone,
Sits Mother Osborne, stupefy'd to Stone!
And ruful Paxton tells the world with tears,³
'These are—ah no! these were, My *Gazetteers*!'

Having nothing more to tell you of my Poetry, I come to what is now my chief care, my Health & Amusement: The first is better, as to Headakes, worse as to Weakness & Nerves, the changes of Weather affect me much, otherwise I want not Spirits, except when Indigestions prevail. The Mornings are my Life; in the evenings I am not dead indeed by sleep, and am stupid enough. I love Reading still, better than Conversation; but my Eyes fail; and at the hours when most people indulge in Company, I am tired, & find the Labour of the past day sufficient to weigh me down: So I hide my self in bed, as a Bird in his Nest, much about the same Time, & rise & chirp the earlier the next morning. I often vary the Scene, (indeed at every Friends Call,) from London to Twitnam, or the contrary, to receive Them, or to be receivd by them: Lord Bathurst is still my

¹ Significantly, perhaps, Pope first wrote *for the new Edition* and then crossed it out and wrote *for the next new Edition*. One doubts whether the general revision of *The Dunciad* was at this time decided upon, but possibly it was.—Sherburn.

² Pope has a marginal gloss in the original letter: 'They print one at the back of the other, to send into the country.'

³ This line was later changed by Pope to—'And Monumental Brass this record bears'. See *The Dunciad*, ed. James Sutherland, Twickenham ed., v. 311.

constant Friend, & yours, but his Country-Seat is now always in Glostershire, not in this Neighborhood. Mr Pulteney has no Country Seat, & in town I see him seldom but he always asks of you. In the Summer I generally ramble for a Month, to Lord Cobham's, the Bath, or elsewhere. In all those Rambles, my Mind is full of the Images of you and poor Gay, with whom I travell'd so delightfully two Summers.¹ Why cannot I cross the Sea? The unhappiest Malady I have to complain of, the unhappiest Accident of my whole Life, is that Weakness of the Breast which makes the Physicians of opinion that a strong Vomit would kill me: I have never taken one, nor had a natural Motion that way, in fifteen years. I went some years agoe with Lord Peterborow about 10 leagues at Sea,² purely to try if I could sail without Seasickness, and with no other view than to make yourself & Lord Bolingbroke a Visit before I dy'd. But the Experiment, tho almost all the way near the Coast, had almost ended all my Views at once. Well then, I must submit to live at the distance which Fortune has set us at, but my Memory, my Affection, my Esteem, are inseperable from you; and will (my dear Friend) be for ever | Yours.

P S. This I end at Lord Orrery's, in company with Dr King. Where-ever I can find two or three that are yours, I adhere to them naturally, & by that Title they become mine. I thank you for sending Mr Swift³ to me: he can tell you more of me.

London. May 19.

One of my new Friends Mr Lyttelton, was to the last degree glad to have any Request from You to make to his Master The moment I shewd him yours concerning Mr Mac-Aulay, he went to him, & it was granted. He is extremely obliged for your Promotion of Lamb. I'll make you no particular Speeches from him, but You & He have a mutual Right to each other Sint tales Animæ concordēs. He loves you, tho he sees you not, as all Posterity will love you, who will not see you, but reverence & admire you.

Endorsed by Swift: Mr Pope | Dated May 17th 1739 | To answer

¹ 1726 and 1727.

² In 1734 Lord Peterborough and Pope had a pleasant day around the Isle of Wight—perhaps Pope's longest sea voyage.

³ Deane Swift.

May 1739

James L. Clifford

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

*The Earl of Orrery to Swift*¹

[May 1739]

Alass dear Sir! I have been an Age racking my Brain for a Theme to write to you upon: at last a most loyal Thesis is come into my Head. I write from my Orangerie, and I write about an Orange. Certainly the best Oranges (I mean preserv'd ones for the true Orange is rotten in Westm^r Abbey) are the produce of your Table. such is your desert, and so thoroughly do I taste it. Send me the Receipt then to imitate You in eating, not drinking, glorious Oranges: whose memory You see is 'as' sacred 'with' to me, as to any of the Hanover Club. I appeal to M^{rs} Whiteway (to whom I beg my Orangelical Service) if you did not promise me this Favour: and I hope by the means of S^r R. Walpole to obtain it. Lady Orrery joins her Entreaties to mine, that you 'would' be so good to send us the receipt as soon as you can: Had my Grandmother liv'd I don't doubt but I should have been able to preserve as well as eat Oranges, but as the Case stands I am only vers'd in the latter Art: and your Mistress must supply the rest. She is still in Love with You, tho' You have turn'd her of to me, who can only talk of You, not like You—You know the old End of a letter, the Post is just going, which really happens at present to be true: Heaven preserve You in Health, & may you always remember your

Endorsed by Mrs. Whiteway: Lord Orrery | May 39

Deane Swift 1765

*Swift to George Lyttelton*²

June 5th, 1739.

Sir,

You treat me very hard, by beginning your letter³ with owning an obligation to me on account of Mr. Lamb, which deserves mine

¹ Date and signature have been excised from the manuscript, formerly among the Piozzi Papers, Bach-y-Graig. A later date than that of the endorsement seems probable: on 17 March 1739–40 (p. 180 *post*) Lady Orrery thanks Swift for his 'Receipt to preserve Oranges', the occasion of the present letter, and again on 12 May 1740 (*Bull. J. Rylands Lib.* 37, 392), Orrery writes from Caledon to Mrs. Whiteway: 'P.S. I am much obliged to you, Madam, for the Receipt of the Oranges.' The Orrerys passed the first eight months of 1739 in England, returning to Ireland in August (*Orrery Papers*, i. 265), and wrote to Swift thereafter from Caledon. Early 1740 is more likely.

² This letter has been printed from the holograph in *N. & Q.*, Aug. 1970.

³ Of 16 May.

and my chapter's thanks, for recommending so useful a person to my choir. It is true I gave Mr. Deane Swift a letter to my dear friend Mr. Pope, that he might have the happiness to see and know so great a genius in poetry, and so agreeable in all other good qualities; but the young man (several years older than you) was much surprised to see his junior in so high a station as Secretary to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to find himself treated by you in so kind a manner. In one article you are greatly mistaken. For, however ignorant we may be in the affairs of England, your character is as well known among us, in every particular, as it is in the Prince your Master's Court, and indeed all over this poor kingdom.

You will find that I have not altogether forgotten my old court-politics: For, in a letter I writ to Mr. Pope, I desired him to recommend Mr. M'Aulay to your favour and protection, as a most worthy, honest, and deserving gentleman, and I perceive you have effectually interceded with the Prince, to prevail with the university to chuse him for a member to represent that learned body in Parliament, in the room of Dr. Coghill, deceased.

I have been just now informed that some of the Fellows have sent over an apology, or rather a remonstrance, to the Prince of Wales, pretending they were under a prior engagement to one Mr. Tisdal,¹ and therefore have desired his Royal Highness to withdraw his recommendation. A modest request indeed, to demand from their Chancellor, what they think is dishonourable in themselves, to give up an engagement. Their whole proceeding, on this occasion, against their Chancellor, heir of the Crown, is universally condemned here, and seems to be the last effort of such men, who, without duly considering, make rash promises, not consistent with the prudence expected from them.

I can hardly venture the boldness to desire, that his Royal Highness may know from you the profound respect, honour, esteem, and veneration, I bear toward his princely virtues. All my friends on

¹ Philip Tisdal (1703-77) is not to be confused with his relation William, who at one time aspired to the hand of Stella. In 1733 he was called to the Irish Bar, where his success, aided by the wealth of Mary Singleton, whom he married in 1736, was rapid. He was defeated at the poll for the representation of Dublin University in 1739 by Alexander Macaulay, who probably owed his return to the exertion of Swift's influence. On petition, however, Tisdal was declared duly elected; and he continued to represent the University till 1776, exercising in Ireland a greater influence than any man of his time.

5 June 1739

Swift to George Lyttelton

your side the water represent him to me in the most amiable light; and the people infallibly reckon upon a golden age in both kingdoms, when it shall please God to make him the Restorer of the liberties of his people.

I ought to accuse you highly for your ill treatment of me, by wishing yourself in the number of my friends: But you shall be pardoned, if you please to be one of my protectors; and your protection cannot be long. You shall therefore make it up in thinking favourably of me. Years have made me lose my memory in every thing but friendship and gratitude: And you, whom I have never seen, will never be forgotten by me, until I am dead. I am, Honourable Sir, with the highest respect, | Your most obedient and | Obligated humble servant.

Huntington Library HM 14349

Mrs. Whiteway to Alexander Pope

[June–July 1739]

Sir,

I am now with the Dean of St Patrick's who has commanded me to write for Him to You. He is extremely Deaf and Giddy, which is Doubly heavy at this juncture, as it prevents Him from making You acquainted with one of the most valuable Men of this Kingdom, Mr McAulay; whose only business to England is to Pay His Duty, respects, and Most Humble thanks, to the Prince of Wales, to you Sir, and Mr Littleton.¹ The Character which the Dean hath ordered me to give You of Councelour McAulay is this; that He is a Man of Religion without Enthusiasm or Hypocrisy, of excellent understanding Learning taste and Probity, a just defender of other men's Propertys and the Liberty of *His Prince* and Country, A most Dutiful Son, a faithful friend—

Here I stopped to put the Dean in mind that I was writing to Mr Pope, not of him; He bid me go on, finish my Sentence, and then make my remarks—A tender Husband Father and Master.

The Dean now in His turn asked me what I thought of My Precipitation? Was I still of opinion it was Mr Pope I was discribing?

¹ Macaulay was evidently on his way to England shortly after his election as representative of Dublin University, unaware that he was to be unseated on petition.

Mrs. Whiteway to Alexander Pope

June-July 1739

as we women like [not] to own our Selves Mistaken, I insisted on my being in the right in what I said, for I could see no other difference in the Pictures, than what an able Artist might designedly have made, Where one Part was Darkly Shaded, for the imagination of the Beholder to fill up.

The Dean says, His great Loss of Memory and very bad State of health, would still be more supportable, if he were not incapacitated by it, to converse with you, who have His Heart, His Warmest Wishes, and tenderest affections. Allow me Sir, to add one wish for my Self, that I may be an Humble Attendant on You both, in that Glorious Space, Where Great Souls will I am sure from a just God, enjoy a more exalted happiness in being perpetually together. I am Sir with the highest respect | Your most Humble and | most Obedient Servant | Martha Whiteway.

Endorsement: Mrs Whiteway to Mr Pope 1739

Berkeley, Literary Relics

Mrs. Whiteway to William Richardson

[20 July 1739]

Sir,

A fortnight ago I went out of town with the new married couple, my son and daughter;¹ and the day before I had the honour to receive your letter. With great truth I do assure you, I am much more concerned at the trouble and disappointment you met with in Mr. Dunkin's affair than for him, having but a short acquaintance and knowledge, otherwise than knowing him to be a man of sense, virtue, and religion, who would be an ornament to the Church, and a credit to those who appeared for him. These were my reasons to wish him well.

One part of your letter, Sir, I can only take notice of with amazement; and do intreat you will indulge me so far as to believe this will be all the answer I can, or ever will, make to it: and yet I am not insensible you have been pleased in some measure to honour me with your esteem. I will not therefore fear the loss of your friend-

¹ The marriage between Deane Swift and Molly Harrison had taken place; and, as appears from the subsequent sentence, Dunkin had failed to obtain the living of Coleraine.

20 July 1739

Mrs. Whiteway to W. Richardson

ship, because it shall be my study to merit your good opinion: and, unprovoked, I know you to have too much good nature to withdraw it. I never saw a more beautiful silk than was bought for my daughter. If you did not choose it, at least you shewed your judgment in the person that was employed. She desires me to say this, that you have forced her to do what she never did in her life, wear any thing that was not paid for; and if hereafter she should run her husband in debt, she will lay all the fault at your door. Mr. Swift presents you his most obedient respects, and will oblige you to know him by his assiduity in courting the honour of your acquaintance. I have asked you so many favours, that no one but myself would presume perpetually to dun you thus; and yet I will never leave off until you grant this my request, to command Miss Richardson to town immediately. I now attack you on the foot of charity; an argument you can never resist. Consider my daughter hath quitted me; that I am all alone; and her agreeable company will make Molly and her husband spend all their time with me. In short, Sir, if you hesitate one moment longer, I will lay you open to the world, and let them see how much they were mistaken in Mr. Richardson, who once in his life broke his word. I have now before me, under your hand, that all my commands should be obeyed. I insist on your promise; and Miss Richardson is my demand, and that immediately. You see how careful and sparing you gentlemen ought to be in compliments to women, who always keep you to your promise while it makes to their interest; and as well know how to evade their own when it is contrary to their inclination. I had the favour of a letter from Alderman Barber in answer to one I wrote him.¹ He doth not perhaps know the inconveniency he hath brought on himself, which is another from me; and yet you may tell him when I have once more paid my respects to him, I am not so unreasonable as to impose or expect any further notice of my Irish impertinence.

I left this paragraph to finish at the Deanery, that from his own mouth I might assure you of his love and esteem. He sends his most affectionate service to his dear old friend Alderman Barber. Mr. Dunkin likewise presents you his most obedient respects, and hopes you received his letter that he sent some days ago. There is no person a more obedient humble servant to you than my daughter, excepting, dear Sir, your most obedient and most obliged faithful humble servant, | Martha Whiteway.

¹ These two letters are not forthcoming.

July 20. 1739.

The chief circumstance that you would choose to know I had like to have forgot; which is, that the Dean is in good health, and ever will remember the pains you and the Alderman have been at, on his account, for Mr. Dunkin.

4806

George Lyttelton to Swift

Worcestershire August y^e 4th 1739

Sir

I have just heard from town that Mr Faulkner your Bookseller at Dublin has by your Order sent me over your Works. When I desired Mr Swift¹ to procure them for me I did not expect the additional pleasure of owing them to your own kindness in so obliging a way. I will place them in my study next to Mr Pope's, which he too gave me himself, and can truly assure you, that, excepting that Present, I never receiv'd one which I value so much.

I am sorry His R. Highness's Recommendation has been of so little use to your Freind, and think indeed that the University owed more respect to their Chancellour, though he had not been Prince of Wales, than they have thought proper to shew.

I made His R.H. your compliments which he accepted with much Satisfaction. I hope, and believe he will make good the Expectations he has rais'd among those, who are equally Freinds to Him, and their Country: He is pleas'd to Reckon You in that number, and desires to preserve and Encrease your good opinion.

I thank you for the Promise you give me *not to Forget me*, and beg you to Remember me as one sincerely desirous to merit the continuance of your Freindship by all the Services in the power of | Sir | Your most oblig'd | & most Obedient serv^t | G Lyttleton

I beg my compliments to your Relation Mr. Swift.

Endorsed by Swift: August 4. 1739 | From Mr. G. Littleton | To answer soon.

¹ i.e. Deane Swift.

7 September 1739

John Scott to Swift

Deane Swift 1768

John Scott to Swift

London, Sept. 7, 1739.

Rev. Sir,¹

Although I do not imagine that you have any remembrance of a person so little known to you as I am, yet I have taken the liberty to draw a kind of bill of friendship upon you, which I am inclined to believe you will answer, because it is in favour of that kingdom to which you have always stood a sincere and firm friend. We have had here, for some years² past, a number of anatomical figures, prepared in wax, which perfectly exhibit all the parts of an human body. They are the work of a *French* surgeon, who spent above forty years in preparing them, and who, to bring them to perfection, was at the trouble and expense of dissecting some hundreds of bodies.³ The present proprietor of them is my friend, and it was by my persuasion that he was prevailed on to send them into *Ireland* for the instruction of the curious. I presume you have seen them in *London*, and therefore I am inclined to think you will be of opinion, that a person may gain more perfect knowledge in anatomy, by viewing these preparations only a few times, than he would by attending many dissections. Your encouraging such of your acquaintance as are curious to see these figures, would greatly excite the curiosity of others. This is the favour I have taken the liberty to desire of you, and which I believe you will be the more readily inclined to grant, when I have assured you, that the person who has the care of the figures, has it in his instructions to return the money that may be got by exposing them to view, in *Irish* linen; so that the kingdom will

¹ The writer is probably the John Scott who entered Trin. Coll. Dublin in 1693 aged 16 and graduated B.A. 1698; incorporated at Oxford, and D.D. there 1731. (Burtchaell and Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 1924, p. 738.)

² This letter concerns models of 'several life-size bodies' of which fragmentary remains are in the Medical School of Trin. Coll. Dublin, to which they were presented by Lord Shelburne at Swift's instigation. (Kirkpatrick, *History of Medical Teaching in T.C.D.*, 1912, p. 130.)

³ The models were made at Genoa by Guillaume Desnoués about 1701-5, and were exhibited in London from about 1719 (*Daily Courant*, 19 Feb. 1719), where a catalogue was printed in 1739 (G. Thomson, *Syllabus*). Some of the smaller models remained in London in the museum of Benjamin Rackstrow (d. 1772) the sculptor. See K. F. Russell, *British Anatomy 1525-1800*, Melbourne, 1963.

be no way impoverished by the small expence which gentlemen may be at in procuring useful instruction, or gratifying their curiosity. If the request I have made be such as you can't favour, my next is, that you will grant me your pardon for having made it.

I intend, God willing, to go into *Ireland* next spring, after the publication of a work which I have been engaged in for some years past, for the silencing of all infidels, heretics, schismatics of all kinds, and enthusiasts. I thought it necessary, because in the way that the controversy has been hitherto managed against such people, the truth has been rather puzzled and perplexed than cleared, christianity has been betrayed, and all true religion lost in the world. I have advanced no one new opinion of my own; what I have set forth is what was clearly set forth in the scriptures from the beginning, I mean in the original scriptures of the Old Testament, so interpreted as to make them every where consistent with themselves, and to shew that the interpretations I have given are not only the true interpretations, but that the scriptures so interpreted are the revealed word of God. I have demonstrated the truth of them by natural evidence, or by the works of God, and that the works bear evidence to nothing but the truth; that these revealed truths so demonstrated are unquestionable and undeniable; and that they are the only powerful motives by which men are not only moved but enlightened, and enabled to mortify all their lusts, which blind and deceive them here, and will be their everlasting tormentors hereafter, but to work the works of charity, and of that perfect righteousness which is of faith: so that the whole of all true religion, which has been one and the same in all ages, will appear to consist in the mortifications of our bodily and spiritual lusts, which withhold men from the works of righteousness; and in the belief of those demonstrative truths, by which alone we are enlightened, enabled, and moved to subdue them; and in observing those natural memorials, which God hath set before us, and in partaking of those reverential ordinances which he hath instituted to put us in mind of what we ought to do, in order to eternal life and the motives for so doing. I ask pardon for this digression, and if you have any commands that I am capable of executing here, if you will let me have the honour of receiving them, I shall take great pleasure in obeying you; for I am, with the greatest respect and truth, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, | John Scott.

September 1739

James Corbridge to Swift

Forster 568

James Corbridge to Swift

[September 1739.]

Rev. Sir,¹

The approaching time of the Lord Lieut. drawing nigh for his going over to his Governm^t. of Ireland² I beg leave to communicate the within Scheme or Method for preventing that pernicious practice of Running the Wooll & Yarn out of the said Kingdom of Ireland to France, our Common Enemie, or to other parts beyond the Seas, to your serious consideration.

As you S^r are a Patriot of your Country and lately saved the Kingdom of Ireland from the Intended Ruin that was attempted by Woods and his Wicked Disciples I am in great hopes that S^r you'll not be wanting in forwarding these poor Endeavours of mine to put them in the Clearest Light for the benefit of the Working and trading people of these three Kingdoms and more Especially for the good of the protestants in Generall for whome I have Calculated this Scheme.

No Doubt S^r but your Ears have been open to those many out Crys and Murmuring of the Working people in Woollen Manufacture, both of Great Britain and Ireland by the Decay of that Trade In General for near this twenty years past and yet no Cure has been provided by the Legislation Occasioned by France Clandestinely getting of such Vast Quantities of the Wooll of Ireland through the Secret Villany of the Papist, and other ill-disposed people within the Said Kingdom, as the French do likewise by the same Subtility here in England to the enriching of France by Computation of near a Million and a half yearly and Impoverish ourselves of the like Sum.

The Parlim^t of England in the last Sessions have made a Conditional Act that is to take place the first of May next that the Duty

¹ This letter, of which the original is in the Forster collection, has relation to an unsuccessful attempt at that time to restrain the clandestine exportation of wool from Ireland to France by which the restrictive legislation was in a great degree defeated. In order to propitiate the Irish Parliament an English Act had been passed taking off the duty on wool and yarn exported to that country, but the Irish assembly refused to listen to the proposals of the government, and to give them the power which they sought to enforce stricter regulations.—Ball.

² The Duke of Devonshire arrived for the second time in Ireland on 27 Sept., and the Irish Parliament met on 9 Oct.—Ball.

of the Irish Wooll and Yarn exported from Ireland into Great Britain shall Cease and be no longer paid so that the Parlm^t of England will expect in lew of such Encouragement that the Marketts of England being now free and open for the Irish Wooll and Yarn to come too Duty free, that the Parlm^t of Ireland will come into such Measures for the future that the Growth of the Wooll of Ireland may be laid under such proper Restrictions as the same may be secured at home by its being prevented from being run to France or Elsewhere abroad for by this Act the Irish will have full Liberty to Manufacture up what they please into Yarn which together with the Lynen Manufactory will go near to Employ the most part of the poor of [their country] at the manufactory Centers at home, as it ought to do; it must also make them cease to hate and envy our selves. There is S^r a Scheme intended for Ireland for the Wooll drawn up by those in the manufactory in London and will be proposed this next sessions in the Parlm^t of Ireland, but it carries with it such a sting in the tail of it that I hope, and I make no Manner of Doubt but that you will oppose it because it designs no good to the Nation in General, but communicate this hint to your good friends of which you do not want neither friends nor admirers.

The sting S^r is this Intended by the Scheme that all the Wooll at the next shear time belonging to the proprietors of the Kingdom shall be bonded after it is shorn yearly by such proprietor, and that the buyer only of such Wooll shall be obliged to pay a Duty of 3^d p pound for all such Wooll as shall be bought within the said Kingdom, and [for] all such Wooll and Yarn as shall hereafter be exported from Ireland to England the Exporters of the same to England shall be Intitled to a draw-back out of the said Duty of 3^d a pound so that the Wooll exported and Yarn to England is to come 3^d a pound Cheaper to them than to a foreigner or other person whatsoever, but as for that which is for the Consumption of Ireland the Duty that shall arise from thence is to be given towards the helping of the Lynning Manufactory So you'll see S^r what good is intended for the Irish Nation, and for whatever part of Wool or Yarn that may be Run to France or Elsewhere abroad such Foreign buyer will be obliged to advance and pay 3^d a pound for what Wool or Yarn they gett more than the English, which they say in time that it will destroy the foreigners Trade and make them sick of buying up either Wool or Yarn and further add that it will have the same Effect as to what the Irish shall export abroad through any clandestine

September 1739

James Corbridge to Swift

way or manufacture up for themselves at home this is the bait that is Laid by their Scheme and they flatter themselves the more upon it because they say it will Occasion a Division, in both houses the Wooll-Grower who sits in the House he'll be for it, by reason it will rise the price of Wool and those Gentleman in the Interest of the Lynning manufacture, they'll be for it because the remaining part of the Duty left that is not drawn back will be, for the Improvement of the Lynning Manufactory (If, S^r you please to observe the hardship will ly upon the poor) etc.

Now S^r the Method that I lay Down by my Scheme you'll plainly see I have no manner of end in it but to preserve so Valuable a blessing as the Great Creator has been pleased to give us within these three Kingdoms That our Material may be kept at home and our poor Employed is all I aim at and desire and that no body may be oppressed, and the same is to be done by my Method and Scheme Effectually with or without a Duty, and if it sho^d be thought proper that a small Duty of a farthing in the pound be laid upon all sheeps Wooll Lambs Wooll and Fell-mongers Wooll within the Said Kingdom, such a Duty will I dare say amount to near 20,000 a year.

I propose that the Management of the Wooll etc sho^d be done only by the Officers of the Excise within the said Kingdom, they being the properest persons and have the leisure time enough to do it not having above one fifth part of the Duty the Officers of excise in England have, and if a Duty it may not [be irksome] to the officers of excise at forty*ll.* p annum to their [salaries if it be] Necessary that the Parlim^t oblige the officers to Do the Duty, the most of the trouble that will be very Extraordinary will be at their time, which will not last with any officer within his Walk above 3 weeks or a month and sho^d any person think too much of it when it concerns so nearly the Happyness of the three Kingdoms in Generall.

S^r this Duty I propose I wo^d have it if it was in my power to be put only to the public good of the kingdom as the Duty on the chairs and coaches, &c. in the Kingdom was given and to no other Use (namely the overplus of the Duty to be applyed towards the forwarding of the Protestant schools within the Said Kingdom Rather than to any other thing) if these my poor thoughts sho^d meet with Rev^d S^r your favourable approbation it wo^d be an Exceptable pleasure to me to be honoured with an Answer who am, Rev^d S^r | Your most Humble Serv^t to Command, | Jam^s: Corbridge

Be pleased to direct to me at M^{rs} Taylors in the broad centry,¹ the North Side Westminster Abbye

Address: To the Revd. Jonathan Swift Dean of St. Patricks at his house in Dublin—Ireland.

Endorsed by Swift: One M^r Corbridge's Letter to me, against^t | running Wool in Irel^d. | Septh 1793

Orrery Papers

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

Caledon, Septr. 29th, 1739.

Dear Sir,

Behold an Englishman growing fatt and flourishing in the County of Tyrone.² Fortune has been extreemly kind in her Favours, and I have no other Way of shewing my Gratitude, but by living on the Spott from whence those Favours flow. Where our Treasure is, there will our Heart be also.

The Time is now drawing near when the Eyes of Europe will be fix'd on the Councils and Determinations of College Green.³ I cannot ask you to be absent from a Scene of such Importance; but if Peace be the Result of those Councils, as I doubt not from their Wisdom it will, I must hope to see You here next Summer. The Inducements to make You quitt Patrick's Street, (a Place I confess very alluring) for the less well bred Butchers of the North, are Quiet, Ease and a Pyrrha and Deucalion who know how to value You: but if War ensues, if his Grace of Devonshire opens the Temple of Janus, and the shrill Trumpet sounds to Arms, even then your Retreat here will be secure. Encompass'd with Hills and Presbyterians, we bid defiance to *Don Geraldino* and the *Conjux violenta Philippi*.⁴ Our Plough Shares will be Plough Shares still:

¹ Sanctuary.

² Leaving Marston in August Orrery passed through Dublin on his way to Caledon. From Dublin, on the 27th, he wrote to King that he found Swift 'in excellent Health and Spirits' (*Orrery Papers*, i. 265).

³ In expectancy of the meeting of the Irish Parliament on 9 Oct.

⁴ The relations between England and Spain had become acute, and the country was crying out against any further negotiations with Don Geraldino, otherwise Thomas Fitzgerald, the faithless Spanish envoy, and the Queen of Philip V, by whom Philip and his country were then ruled. In spite of Walpole's utmost efforts to avert it, war was formally declared a few weeks later.—Ball.

29 September 1739

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

nay, so great is our aversion to Swords, that we do not suffer Prize-Fighters to come amongst Us, and, what is more wonderfull, one of our Lords, the Baron of Blayney, has quitted the broad Belt and Hanger for the Toga Xtiana of the Church:¹ so that All the Tumults we apprehend are *in Nubibus*. The Clouds are the chief Ministers to Boreas, and they execute his Orders without the least Colour of Justice or Shew of Pity. The Winds blow down our Trees and the Rains rot them, nor can their Wrath against Groves and Plantations be exceeded by any sett of People beneath Them, except by the Natives of the Place.

You see I scorn to disguise the Situation of our State, and since You have long known my Imperfections, why should you not know the Imperfections of my Land? A land whose worst produce is Cheese,² and whose greatest want is the honour of your Company. I leave Lady Orrery to speak for herself: She is at present in the Dairy tasting buttermilk and trying a new Churn. By and By we must go together to the Pidgeon House, and when Night comes on, we shall shutt our Windows and retire to the Muses and the Loves. I am, dear Sir, Your ever oblig'd, affectionate and obedient humble Servant, | Orrery.

4806

Swift to the Earl of Arran

[Autumn 1739]

My Lord.³

I am earnestly desired [requested] by some worthy friends of mine to write to Your Lordship⁴ in favour of the Bearer Mr Moore,

¹ The eighth Lord Blayney, born 27 Jan. 1714–15. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; took Holy Orders, 24 Aug. 1738; received preferments in the diocese of Clogher and of Derry. In 1750 he became Dean of Killaloe, a position he retained till his death in 1761. It was his father who interfered with Swift's safety, when riding on the strand at Dublin, by driving high-mettled horses in his path. *Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott, xi. 388; *Thomas Tickell*, R. E. Tickell, pp. 96–98.

² An allusion to his dislike of cheese.

³ This draft is printed by previous editors as if a continuous piece of writing, and without indication of revision. The words within brackets were struck out by Swift while in process of composition. One paragraph was written in another hand. Hawkesworth gave the date as 1729. The draft is clearly to be dated 1739.

For note 4 see overleaf.

Minister of Clonmell¹ who will have the Honour to present [delivered] this Letter to Your Lordship. [Your Lord] Those Rectorial Tythes of Clonmel were granted to the Church by Letters Patents from K. Charles the Second with the perfect Knowledge, and full Approbation of [Your] Your great Ancestor, the first Duke of Ormonde, then L^d Lieutenant of Ireland. Notwithstanding which, some of the former Agents to Your Lordship's Family have greatly distressed the Incumbent Ministers of Clonmell, which is generally believed to be without the Knowledge of His present Grace the Duke your Brother (whom God long preserve). But Your Lordship's present Agent being extremely vigilant of all Your Lordship's Interests, hath lately reserved the Claim of the Ormonde Family to those Tythes, and was at the last Assizes after a long hearing of Six Hours, non-suited. The Living of Clonmell is one of the largest and yet poorest Parish in this Kingdom, being upon the whole (including the Valuation of the Houses) scarce worth one hundred Pounds a Year, out of which, a Curate Assistant, (being absolutely necessary on Account of it's Extent) [bein] a Salary of 40¹¹ must be paid.

My Lord: Your Lordship's Family hath been always distinguished for their Favour and Protection to the Established Church under her greatest Persecutions, nor have you in the universal Opinion ever degenerated from them. Those Tythes in and about Clonmell are very inconsiderable, having never been let for above 24¹¹ a year, made up of very small Pittances collected from a great Number of the poorest People, so that the recovery of them by an expensive Law-suit, if it could be effected, would not be worth attempting.

Mr Moore is recommended to me by severall Persons, of great Worth (as I have already observed) and, I hope I have not hitherto forfeited the Credit I had with you. | I am &c.

¹ Joseph Moore, a Prebendary of Lismore. He died in 1794, at Clonmel, of which he had been rector for fifty-seven years (Cotton, *Fasti Eccl. Hib.* i. 151).

⁴ The Earl of Arran, like his brother, the Duke of Ormonde, is several times mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*. He was a member of the Brothers' Society. In 1715 the Duke was attainted, and all his honours and estates forfeited. By an Act of Parliament, 1721, the Earl of Arran was enabled to repurchase the family estates. Although by the death of his brother, 1745, he became *de jure* Duke of Ormonde he appears never to have styled himself otherwise than Earl of Arran. He never visited Ireland, and for many years there appears to have been no intercourse between him and Swift.

Autumn 1739

Swift to the Earl of Arran

On the recto of the next leaf in another hand:

My humble request therefore to y^r Lordship is, that: the Minister of Clonmell may without disturbance enjoy that small addition to his Support, w^{ch} the King, & y^r. Grandfather intended for him.

On the verso of the same leaf in Swift's hand:

I have always understood and believed that [Your Lordship hath since You] the Duke y^r [Brother] Brothers retiring hath not lessened your Fortune, but hath increased it; and as to his Grace, [except] unless all our Intelligence be false he is as easy as he desires to be. I [have seen] hear severall Persons who have [waited on him abroad] ventured to wait on him abroad, and it is agreed that his Grace is [ver] perfectly easy in his Mind and Fortune.

Upon the whole I do earnestly desire Your Lordship to resign [that] those poor scrapps of Tythes [to M^r M] in and about Clonmell to M^r Moor and His Successors in a legal [full] form for ever. Your loss will be at most but 24¹¹ a year, and that with a thousand difficultyes infinitely below your Generosity and Quality

Endorsed by Swift: To L^d Arran | about M^r Moor | Minist^r of Clonmel | 1739.

Scott 1814

Swift to the Rev. James King

Monday morn. [1739?]

Sir,¹

I have often desired to talk with you about the Wednesday dinner, but could never see you. Mrs. Sican is to buy the dinner; for which I advanced a moidore and a double pistole.² I hoped you would have wrote to Dr. Wilson, and taken some care about the wine, for I have none to spare. Pray let me know whether you are content to take your usual trouble on these occasions. | I am, your obedient humble servant, | J. Swift.

¹ The letter is addressed to a favourite friend, the Rev. James King, incumbent of St. Bride's Church, Dublin; and the reference to Dr. Wilson makes it probable that it was written about 1739.

² Both these gold coins were in common circulation. The value of the Portuguese moidore was reckoned at about 27s. and the Spanish pistole between 16s. 6d. and 18s.

Faulkner 1762

Swift to George Faulkner

December 4, 1739

Sir,

I cannot find a Manuscript I wrote, called, *Directions for Servants*,¹ which I thought was very useful, as well as humorous. I believe, you have both seen and read it; I wish you could give me some Intelligence of it, because, my Memory is quite gone; therefore, let me know all you can conjecture about it. I am, Sir, | Your very humble Servant, | Jon. Swift.

Deane Swift 1768

The Rev. Robert Throp to Swift

Dec. 10th, 1739.

Rev. Sir,²

The many professions of kindness you have made, and friendship you have shewn, to my mother and her family, particularly in declaring your abhorrence and detestation of the cruel and inhuman behaviour of that monster [Colonel Waller] to my unfortunate and innocent brother, induced my mother to trouble you with a few of the narratives of that case, to disperse among such members of the house of commons as were of your acquaintance. The reason of our troubling you to do this, is because we intend presenting a petition to the members of the house of commons this session, to oblige [Colonel Waller] to wave his privilege, every other attempt we have tried since my brother's death proving fruitless.

Your appearing, Sir, in this affair, will not only make [the Parliament] the more ready to do justice, but prevent others from support-

¹ Fifteen months before, Swift had written to Faulkner on the same subject. Part of the manuscript had then been found by Mrs. Ridgeway, and Swift was asking Faulkner for the remainder. As he here confesses his memory was failing.

² Concerning the case of the merciless persecution of the Rev. Roger Throp by Colonel Waller see *Poems*, iii. 834-5. Throp instituted proceedings against Waller in 1735. He won success; but he died early in the following year. His brother Robert Throp published in 1739 a pamphlet entitled *A Narrative of the Case of the Reverend Mr. Roger Throp* and presented a petition for redress to the House of Commons, which was, however, rejected.

10 December 1739

The Rev. Robert Throp to Swift

ing him in his villainies, which will be of infinite service to my mother and her family.

The bearer carries you a dozen of cases; and if you should have occasion for any more, they shall be sent to you by, Reverend Sir, your most obliged and most obedient humble servant, | Robert Throp.

I have written the names of the several persons mentioned in the narrative at length upon the back of the title page.¹

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

Dec. 31, 1739.

Madam,²

It is impossible to have health in such desperate weather; but you are worse used than others. Every creature of either sex are uneasy; for our kingdom is turned to be a *Muscovy*, or worse. Even I cannot do any good by walking: Is not warmth good against rheumatic pains? I hope *Deane Swift* will be able to assist you both. I wish for a happy turn in the weather. I am doubly desolate, and wish I could sleep until the sun would comfort us. Would neither your son or daughter save you the pains of writing on your back? You are much more friendly to me than a thousand of them. Adieu. I am ever yours. | J. Swift.

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

[1 January 1739-40]

Dear Madam,

I am truly and heartily glad that you are a little mended, and can lie on your belly, or side, not altogether on your back. You

¹ The copy of *A Narrative* in the Newberry Library, Chicago, has this manuscript key on the verso of the half-title page.

² This letter contains the first allusion to the memorable frost of that winter. It had set in with intensity four days before, accompanied by an intolerably piercing east wind, and lasted with no appreciable intermission for a period of seven weeks.

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

1 January 1739-40

are much in the right not to stir, and so was *Croker*¹ not to suffer you. I am not yet worse for the cold weather, but am angry at it. I am heartily sorry for yourself and daughter; but Mr. *Swift* dares not be sick, for his chief business is to look after you and your daughter. I walk only in my bed-chamber and closet, which hath also a fire. I am ever yours. | J. Swift.

New-year's day, 1739-40.

I wish you may have many and all healthy ones.

A. Loftus Bryan²

Swift to —

[2 January 1739-40]

I fear there is no fund for a Chaplain in Doctor Stevens's Hospital;³ Mr Cooke's Case it is true is very hard, And that he should find⁴ Bread and wine for the Sacrament, is altogether unreasonable. In such a case it is better for Mr. Cooke⁵ to give up the Chaplainship and try to get a tolerable Curacy.

Jan^r 2^d | 1739-40

Jonath: Swift.

Mrs. Pilkington, *Memoirs*, iii. 80

Swift to —

Deanery House, 9 January 1739-40

Whereas the Bearer⁶—serv'd me the Space of one Year, during which time he was an Idler and a Drunkard, I then discharged him

¹ Edward Croker was a Dublin apothecary, and according to Deane Swift an eminent one 'of great humanity and skill'.—Ball.

² This letter, in the possession of Major Loftus Bryan, of Upton Hydro, Kilmuckridge, Gorey, co. Wexford, is said to have been found among the papers of a clergyman to whom it relates.

³ The main bequest of Stella's will was a thousand pounds for the maintenance of a chaplain in Dr. Steevens's Hospital, to become operative after the death of her mother and sister. In consequence of this provision the fund was not yet available.

⁴ The word 'find' is written above the line.

⁵ Probably the Rev. George Cooke, educated in Trinity College, Dublin. He became Prebendary of Leighlin 1757 (*Fasti Eccl. Hib.* ii. 401).

⁶ Mrs. Pilkington (*Memoirs*, iii. 78-81) tells us that the recipient of this

9 January 1739-40

Swift to —

as such; but how far his having been five Years at Sea, may have mended his Manners, I leave to the Penetration of those who may hereafter chuse to employ him. | J. Swift.

Deanery-House, | Jan. 9th, 1739.

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

January 13, [1739-40].¹

Dear Madam,

Your son,² who was with me yesterday, and staid the whole afternoon till near ten o'clock, gave me a very melancholy account of your ill health, extremely to my grief. I send a servant with this letter, and you will please to employ Mr. *Swift* to answer it, because I am in very great pain about you; for the weather is so extremely sharp, that it must needs add to your disorders. Pray let your son or daughter write a few lines to give me some sort of comfort. My cold is now attended with a cough this bitter cold weather; but I am impatient till your son or daughter gives me some hopes. I am ever your assured friend and most humble servant, | J. Swift.

testimonial was a footman, at one time in Swift's employment, who was discharged by him for keeping a poor old woman waiting in the cold on the Deanery steps. 'Hark ye, Sirrah, you have been admonish'd by me for Drunkenness, idling, and other Faults, but since I have discovered your inhuman Disposition, I must dismiss you from my Service: So pull off my Cloaths, take your Wages.' As Swift refused the man a written discharge he was forced to go to sea. After five years he returned and pleaded for some sort of discharge. The Dean, calling for pen, ink, and paper, wrote out the above dismissal, which, so Mrs. Pilkington tells us, secured him a place in the service of Pope.

¹ This letter was dated by Deane Swift, and by subsequent editors before Ball, '1740-41'. The subject matter, however, makes it evident that it was written at the same time as the preceding and following letters to Mrs. Whiteway.

² Deane Swift, as he informs us in his own footnote.

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

Jan. 18, 1739-40.

Dear Madam,

I have been many days heartily concerned for your ill health; it is now twenty-five days since we have found nothing but frost and misery, and they may continue for as many more. This day is yet the coldest of them all. Dr. *Wilson*¹ and I are both very uneasy to find no better message from you. I received, as I was going to dinner, the inclosed letter from your beloved of —, which I shall make you happy with. It will shew you the goodness, the wisdom, the gratitude, the truth, the civility of that excellent divine,² adorned with an orthography (spelling) fit for himself. Pray read it a hundred times, but return it after you have read it an hundred times. My love and service to your son and daughter; let them both read the inclosed.

I would not lose your lover's letter for 100*l*. It must be sent back by the bearer. Let me know the exact number of lyes that are in it; but I fear that will take up your time too much. I am ever yours, |
J. Swift.

¹ The Rev. Francis Wilson, who occupies an unenviable position in the history of Swift's closing years, would appear to have become before this time resident in the Deanery. Wilson, who was then a man of about forty-five years of age, was a scholar and doctor of divinity of Dublin University, and had been since 1727 Prebendary of Kilmactalway in Swift's Cathedral, and rector of the parish of Clondalkin, in which the greater part of the Deanery property lay. A note in an account-book relating to the Cathedral (Forster Collection, no. 513) shows that Wilson had been closely connected with Swift for at least a year before that time, and that Swift was not blind to his failings. It occurs in connexion with the provision for the poor of the Liberty and is as follows: '1739 May 3 Increased to Mr. Lyon, by the pernicious vice and advice of my daily sponge and ingrate Will's son, to twelve scoundrels at 6½*d*. per week, 6*s*. 6*d*.'—Ball.

² Writing to Mrs. Whiteway on 28 Nov. 1735 Swift referred to the Rev. Stafford Lightburne as 'your dearly beloved monster' and 'one of your favourites' (iv. 441, 42). And he characterizes the same 'excellent divine' in his *List of Ungrateful, Grateful, Indifferent* (see Appendix XXX *post*) thus: 'Mr Lightburn . . . u.' The identification omitted by Deane Swift may be 'Churchtown', Lightburne's living in co. Westmeath (iv. 150 and n.)

*Lord Castle-Durrow to Swift*Dublin Feb: 2^d. 1739 [-40].

Sir

Since I am forbidden your Presence¹ I think I should be more explicit in my Reason of Thanks to you, for Dr. Delany's obliging Present,² than I can be in a verbal, crude, ill-delivered message by a Servant.

As I am not acquainted with the Doctor I at first imagined his boundless Generosity distributed his Book amongst the Lords, and that It was sent me as a Member, tho an unworthy One, of the august Body, I soon found myself mistaken, and as all Presents are enhanced in Value proportionable to the Manner of their Distribution, I thought It incumbent on me to thank Him by Letter for having so obligingly distinguished me. He has honoured me with an Answer to It,³ which highly elates me, for weak Minds are easily made vain, but whose would not be so on the Compliment he makes me, on having read some of my Letters to you, they were wrote, as most mine are, in the Wantonness of Fancy, without aiming at Pomp of Expression, or Dress of Words, lucky Methods of gilding Nonsense; yet that He should approve I will not wonder, when I consider the Benignity of your Freindship, oh is It not sometimes too strong Byass even for your Judgment, that prompted you to think 'Them worth his Perusal What am I now to do I ought not to be silent'⁴ Yet

¹ Lord Castle-Durrow, perhaps on his way back from England, had evidently called at the Deanery, but failed to see Swift.

² This may have been the second edition of Delany's *Reflections upon Polygamy*, 1739; but was, more probably, his *Historical Account of the Life and Reign of David, King of Israel*. A second and a third volume of this latter work appeared in 1742.

³ Ball prints a copy of this letter, which was then in the possession of Viscount Ashbrook: 'My Lord,—The letter with which you honoured me found me from home, and in no good condition to return the thanks I owe for it, which I now beg leave to do. I had conceived a good opinion of your understanding from some letters of yours to the Dean of St. Patrick's, and I have since had reason to think well of your religion, and I shall always wish everything I write in the hands of persons of that character, and think myself as much obliged for their censures as I shall be proud of their approbation. I am, my Lord, with great respect, Your most obedient humble servant, Patrick Delany. January 29, 1739-40.'

⁴ The words within half-brackets lie within a part of the paper defaced by repair.

I risque depreciating a favourable Opinion He has conceived of me, by making myself farther known to Him, why in Prudence no, in Civility yes; under this Dilemma give me your Advice, as you are the Origin of this Favour, or will you yield to what I suggest may not be improper, take me under your Protection, as soon as the Weather will permit, in a warm Hackney Coach, which I will take care to provide, let Us jumble together to his little Paradise, w^{ch} I long much to see, as well as to pay my Debt due to his Benevolence.

I am already alarmed with your Excuse of Deafness and Dizziness, yielding to such complaint always strengthens It, Exerting against It generally lessens it, do not emerge in the sole Enjoyment of yourself; is not a Freind the Medicine of Life, I am sure It is the Comfort of It, and I hope you still admit such Companions as are capable of administring It, in that Number I know I am unworthy of Rank, however my best Wishes shall attend you. I have enclosed some Verses, the latin I believe will please you, one of the Translations may have the same fortune, the other can not. The Verses written in the Lady's Book is a lamentable Hymn to Death from a Lover ascribed to his Mistress. I have made the Author of It vain, who I am sure had then never read Pope's Heloise to Abelard in telling him his six last lines seem a Parody of six of Pope's, They are on the other Side that you may not be at Loss

Then too when Fate shall thy fair Fame destroy,
That Cause of all my Guilt, and all my Joy,
In Trance extatick may thy Pangs be drown'd,
Bright clouds descend, and Angels watch Thee round;
From opening Skies may streaming Glories shine,
And Saints embrace Thee with a Love like mine.

I think the whole Letter the most passionate I ever read, except Heloise's own, on the Subject of Love I am equally struck with Cadenus to Vanessa, I have often soothed m[yself]¹ with Both, when I have been in a Fit.

I will conclude with the above Wish, and assuring [you] I am with great Sincerity, as well as Esteem, Si[r] | your most | faithfull affect^t humble Servant | Castledurrow

¹ Paper torn. Although Hawkesworth and succeeding editors read 'my love' the word 'myself' appears to fit the space available.

2 February 1739-40

Lord Castle-Durrow to Swift

My Boy¹ sends you his Respects, and wou'd fain pay Them in Person to you

Address: To | The Reverend Mr Dean Swift

Endorsed by Swift: L^d Castle-Durrow

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

Feb. 3, 1739-40.

The bad account I had of your health for many days, or rather weeks, hath made me continually uneasy to the last degree; and Mr. *Swift*,² who was with me a long time yesterday, could not in conscience give me any comfort: but your kind letter hath raised my spirits in some measure. I hope we have almost done with this cursed weather, yet still my garden is all in white.³ I read your letter to Dr. *Wilson*, who is somewhat better, and he resolves to apply your medicine, I mean your improvements of what you prescribe to add to his surgeon's method. I am ever, dear Madam, entirely yours, | J. Swift.

Forster 555 (Copy)

Swift to the Rev. James Stopford

[Deanery House, 17 March 1739-40]

Sr⁴

I return you my hearty thanks for your kind offer of advancing some money, But, if Mr^s Stopford's Agent be too perverse to pay me any I will by no means press you to any Inconvenience, and will rather Borrow 50¹¹ upon Interest, besides, I can make a shift for

¹ Henry Flower, second but first surviving son of Lord Castle-Durrow, succeeded his father in 1746. On 30 Sept. 1751 he was created Viscount Ashbrook.

² i.e. Deane Swift.

³ There was then some tendency towards a thaw, but it did not last, and frost again set in and continued until the 14th of that month.—Ball.

⁴ Apparently interest on money which Swift had lent Stopford's mother was in arrear. Stopford here offers to make "a personal advance. He also alludes to a letter which he had received from Pulteney.

Swift to the Rev. James Stopford

17 March 1739-40

a Fortnight. I hope, the Disorder you complain of will not long affect you. As to my self, I am never well, yet my Deafness is the most Vexatious. I am glad Mr Pulteney hath not quite forgot me, I suppose you will answer his Letter, and let him know that I intend to thank him for his great Favour. I forget what Part in London, where I may address a Letter to him. I am Dear S^r your most | obedient & obliged | Servant | J. Swift.

Deanery House | March 17— | 1739-40 | St Patricks day

Our annual feast when I shall be overloaded with my Chap^{tr} but without any Expence. I desire to present my humble Service to your Lady and Relations about you.

James L. Clifford¹

Lady Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Caledon, March 17th 1739/40

D^r Madam

The Remembering two of your Freinds Buried in the Country, is the same kind of charity as thinking of those already in their Graves: We are at Caledon almost as quiet as if we were under the great Monument in St Patricks Church.² And except the Dean yourself & a few more, desire to be as little thought, or spoakn of as those who lye there. It is very true I told the Dean, that after Christmass we should pay our Duties to him at Dublin. But I can give you a far better, & juster reason than that you assign, which is the improvement of this Place, neglected for above Twenty Years, and tho' it be our own, I must say wants no Natural Beauties. Besides neither my Lord or I were ever fond of City diversions, & we are so unpolite as to find in this retirement, domestick amusements enough even to make the long Winter Evenings, far from tedious.

I should have begun this Letter with thanks to you & the Dean, for the Receipt to preserve Oranges, but that as well as my Compliments to M^{rs} Swift³ will I hope be accepted of in this Place | I am

¹ Formerly among the Piozzi Papers, Bach-y-Graig.

² The family monument in St. Patrick's Cathedral erected by Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork.

³ Mary, daughter of Mrs. Whiteway, married to Deane Swift.

17 March 1739-40

Lady Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Madam | Your | most Obedient | most humble Servant | Margaret
Orrery.

Berkeley, Literary Relics

Mrs. Whiteway to William Richardson

[25 March 1740]

Dear Sir,¹

Once I thought I could never receive a letter from, or answer one to you, without pleasure; and yet both hath happened to me very lately. This is the third day I sat down to write to you, and as often tore my paper. I endeavoured to say something to alleviate your grief;—that would not do: Then I resolved to be silent on the occasion; but, alas! that was impossible for a friend. I will, therefore, for a moment, rather renew your grief by joining with you in it. Your trials hath been most severe: the loss of two such valuable persons as Miss Richardson and Sir Joseph Eyles are irreparable;² for, in a middle state of life, we have not time enough before us to make new friendships, were it possible to meet their equals. This is an unusual way of comforting a friend in trouble. Ought I not rather to persuade you to forget them, and call in Christianity to your aid? But I believe those expounders of it are mistaken in their notions, who would have us imagine this to be religion; for I am sure a just God will expect no more from us than to submit without repining. I am too much a fellow sufferer in misfortunes of this nature not to feel for you. In a short time I lost a beloved husband and friend, an ingenious, a worthy son, and, what the world value as their chief happiness, some trifling conveniences. All these I have outlived, and am an instance that time will erase the blackest melancholy. I most sincerely wish, dear Sir, this may be your case, and that it may be the last struggle of mind or tedious illness you will ever have to battle against.

You have conjured me by such a tie as the last request of dear

¹ Richardson, still in London, had written, as this letter shows, to tell Mrs. Whiteway of the death of his niece and of a friend.

² Sir Joseph Eyles, who had died on 8 Feb., was a knight, an alderman of London, and member of the English Parliament. His father had been created a baronet by George I, and his elder brother, who had succeeded to the baronetcy, was appointed that year Postmaster-General.—Ball.

Mrs. Whiteway to W. Richardson

25 March 1740

Miss Richardson, that, as well as I am able, I will tell you what I guess the Dean may like. I know his candlesticks are the most indifferent of any of his plate, and therefore mention a pair of those: his snuffers are good.

Surely I was not such a beast as to forget mentioning the receipt of the papers you were so careful and obliging to send me: they came very safe. I entreat you to accept of my most humble thanks for this, and all your other most extraordinary favours.

The Dean of St. Patrick's presents you his most affectionate love and service; and commanded me to tell you he would have writ to you upon this late occasion, if he had not been too deeply affected with your grief.

Surely the two long months you have so often fixed for your return will be at an end; and then I shall have the opportunity of telling you from my mouth what I now give under my hand, that I am, with the highest respect and esteem, dear Sir, Your most obliged and most obedient humble servant, | Martha Whiteway.

March 25, 1740.

My most obedient respects to Alderman Barber. Mr. Swift and his wife beg you will accept of theirs.

Deane Swift 1768

Robert Nugent to Mrs. Whiteway

Bath, April 2, 1740.

Madam,¹

I had not until very lately an opportunity of letting Mr. *Pope* know his obligations to you; of which he is very sensible, and has

¹ The writer of this letter was the 'jovial and voluptuous Irishman' (Glover, *Memoirs*, 1813, p. 47), Robert Nugent, who advanced his fortunes and political power by a succession of marriages to rich widows. In 1737 he had married the second, Anne, daughter of Craggs, the Postmaster-General. In 1766 he became Viscount Clare, and ten years later he was promoted to the dignity of Earl Nugent. As a poetaster (without gift) he favoured acquaintance with men of letters. He had become known to Pope and Swift. The occasion of this letter was an offer by Mrs. Whiteway to return to Pope some of his letters to Swift which lay in her possession. See Pope to Nugent, 26 Mar. 1740 (Sherburn, iv. 230, n. 3), and Pope to Orrery, 30 Dec. 1740 (Sherburn, iv. 316).

2 April 1740

Robert Nugent to Mrs. Whiteway

desired me to beg that you will remit to me, by a safe hand, whatever letters of his are now in your possession. I shall be in town next week; so that you may be pleased to direct to me, by the first convenient opportunity, at my house in *Dover-street, London*. I am, Madam, with great esteem, your most humble and obedient servant, | R. N.

My compliments to Mr. and Mrs. *Swift*.¹ I shall say nothing of the picture, because I am sure you remember it. I must beg that you will let Mr. *Bindon*² know I would have the picture no more than a head upon a three-quarter cloth, to match one which I now have of Mr. *Pope*.

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

April 29, 1740.

Dear Madam,

I find that you and I are fellow-sufferers almost equally in our healths, although I am more than twenty years older. But I am and have been these two days in so miserable a way, and so cruelly tortured, that can hardly be conceived. The whole last night I was equally struck as if I had been in Phalaris's brazen bull, and roared as loud for eight or nine hours. I am at this instant unable to move without excessive pain, although not the thousandth part of what I suffered all last night and this morning. This you will now style the gout. I continue still very deaf.³ Doctor *Wilson*'s left eye is still disordered, and very uneasy. You have now your family at home: I desire to present them with my kind and hearty service. | I am ever intirely yours, &c. | J. Swift.

¹ i.e. Deane Swift and her daughter

² For the several portraits of Swift by Bindon see Sir Frederick Falkiner's essay on 'The Portraits of Swift' (*Prose Works*, Temple Scott, xii. 24-40). Nugent's portraits of Swift and Pope, in the Buckingham collection at Stowe until 1848, are untraced: see G. P. Mayhew 'A Portrait of Swift', *Huntington Lib. Quart.* xxix. 287-94, and W. K. Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Pope*, 1965, pp. 283-7.

³ Four days later, 3 May, Swift executed his will; prompted doubtless to this immediate step by the state of his health.

Harvard University¹

Alexander Pope to Swift

[? May 1740]

Sir,

The true Honour which all the honest and grateful Part of this Nation² must bear you, as the most publick spirited of Patriots, the best of private Men, and the greatest polite Genius of this Age, made it impossible to resist the Temptation, which has fallen in our Way, of preserving from all Accidents a Copy of the *inclosed Papers*,³ which at once give so amiable a Picture of your own excellent Mind, and so strong a Testimony of the Love and Respect of those who nearest know, and best can judge of it.⁴

As there is Reason to fear they would be lost to Posterity after

¹ Professor Sherburn's discerning annotation of this letter (iv. 242-4) cannot be bettered, and I acknowledge gratefully permission to make use of his notes. The text is from Orrery's transcript of Pope's letter to him of 30 Dec. 1740, in which this appears. Elwin (viii. 418-19) printed it with no indication of provenience, and for no clear reason placed it in Sept. 1740. Since, in his letter to Pope of 29 July 1740, Faulkner enclosed a copy of it (so Pope informed Orrery, 30 Dec. 1740), the letter probably started towards Dublin in May or June. The present text (N.B.!) is that of a transcript (by Orrery) of a transcript (by Pope) of a transcript (by Faulkner, made in July 1740). Mrs. Whiteway sent the 'original' letter to Orrery, who, 8 Jan. 1740/1, sent it to Pope. Elrington Ball (vi. 157), reprinting Elwin, says the text came from the original 'in the possession of the Earl of Cork'. This is probably wrong. Since Orrery sent the original to Pope, one may suspect that he never got it back. The text here given seems at one point slightly better than that printed by Elwin: see below, note 4. The letter is called 'that from Bath' by Mrs. Whiteway, writing to Orrery 30 Dec.; and although neither Orrery's transcript (here printed) nor Elwin's text has any superscription indicating Bath, the clandestine volume, with this letter, was evidently known to come from Bath. Thomas Birch (B.M. Add. 4244, f. 38r) records conversation with Faulkner on 17 Aug. 1749, which, in part, is: 'Mr P[ope] sent to Ireland to Dr Swift by Mr. Gerrard, an Irish Gentleman, then at Bath, a printed Copy of their Letters, with an anonymous Letter: which occasion'd Dr Swift to give Mr. Fawkner Leave to reprint them at Dublin, tho' Mr. Pope's Edit. was publish'd First.'

² *this Nation* is italicized in Elwin's text to emphasize (as other italics in the letter do) the Irish origin of the volume it accompanies. But Orrery did not underline these two words.

³ A curious way of speaking of a printed volume. Intentionally perplexing, perhaps.

⁴ Elwin's text here somewhat illogically falls into past tenses, and says, 'who knew, and best could judge of it'.

May 1740

Alexander Pope to Swift

your Death, if either of your Two great Friends¹ should be possessed of them, (*as we are informed you have directed*)² they are here collected and submitted to your own mature Consideration. Envy itself can find Nothing in them that either You, or They, need be ashamed of. But you, Sir, are the Person *most* concerned, and ought to be made the *only* Judge in this Case. You may be assured there is *no other Copy*³ of this Book in any Hands but your own: So that, while you live, it will be in the Power of no other, but yourself, to bestow it on the Publick. In so doing You shall oblige all Mankind in general, and *benefit any deserving Friend* in particular. But if during your Life, You will suppress it, yet after your Death it is not fit that either You should be robbed of so much of your Fame, or We of so much of your Example;—We are, | Worthy Sir, | your sincere Admirers, Obliged *Country-Men*, and | Faithful, Affectionate Servants.

Columbia University, N.Y.

Mrs. Whiteway and Swift to William Richardson

[13 May 1740]

[MRS. WHITEWAY]

Dr S^r⁴

by the time this Kisses your hand I believe Mrs. Richardson will not blush to be wished joy, by a person you have done the honour to call a friend; and whose ambition it is to deserve some place in her esteem.⁵ and now that all insinuations in your favour are as needless as the formal ceremonys between Lovers, I shall take the

¹ Orrery's marginal annotation here is 'Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pope'.

² Swift had himself, in his letter of 22 Apr. 1736, informed Pope of such direction. His letters were to go to Pope.

³ Swift's experience in the intricacies of printing would compel him to regard this statement as improbable. Pope very likely had printed a normal-sized edition.

⁴ This letter, together with Swift's of the same date, was first printed by George-Monck Berkeley in his *Literary Relics*, 1768, pp. 68 ff. The original, with other properties, was sold at Sotheby's, 1 July 1930, passed into the hands of Arthur Pforzheimer, and thence to Dr. Dallas Pratt, New York. The two letters are written on one folded sheet, Swift's letter on the lower part of the third page of Mrs. Whiteway's letter.

⁵ Richardson had written from London to tell Mrs. Whiteway of his niece's death, of his own marriage, and requested her to concert some domestic arrangements for him prior to his return to Ireland.

Liberty to tell her, it will be her own fault if she is not one of the happiest women in the world; this is an unusual way of recommending My self to a Bride, nor should I do it to any but *yours*; yet surely when a Lady is married to a Gentleman with an easie fortune, Good Nature and a Man of honour how little is required of her side towards mutual felicity, which can be comprised in two words, Love and *Obey*.

About a fortnight agoe, I dined at the Dean of St Patricks, in a mixed company; where one of the Gentlemen told him you were married, or just going to be so, to a Lady of fifteen, with a hundred thousand pound fortune, and a perfect Beauty; I asked the person whether he had not that account from a woman? he said he had; the Dean enquired if I knew anything of the affair? I answered yes, only with this difference, that she was at least fifty, and a most ungenteel, disagreeable woman. the whole company looked upon me with contempt, and their countenances expressed, they thought I drew my own picture, whilst I enviously endeavoured to paint the Ladys; the Dean only understood me, and smiling said, he believed I was in the right. When we were alone I let him know, that you had commanded me to acquaint him with the affair, and I hoped, when I writ to you next, that he would add a postscript in my letter; he promised me to do it, and this day I intend to put him in Mind of it.

I waited on Mr Hamilton yesterday, to consult with him, if it would not be proper to allow the servants: board wages from this time: and it was diverting enough to see us both keeping our distance about a secret, the whole town hath known these two months; however at last we understood each other, and have agreed to give the Coachman four shills a week and the Maid three, until they goe a shipboard.

there would have been no occasion to be so formal with a friend, as to desire Mr Hamilton to give the servants mony, when you might have ordered¹ me to do it, altho I had not been in your debt, which to my shame be it spoken would be scandalous so long a time, if the fault were intirely mine.

My Son and Daughter Swift, present you, and your Lady, their most obedient respects, and sincerest wishes. I am at a loss to express My obligations to her, for the compliment she was pleased to remit to me; and I believe when we meet, she will not be jealous, that I dare give it under my hand to her, that I love, honour, and

¹ 'ordered' written above a word scored out.

13 May 1740

Mrs. Whiteway and Swift to W. Richardson

Esteem you more than any woman does except her self. I am dr Sr,
yr most Humble and most obet ser^t | Martha Whiteway.

May 13th | 1740

[SWIFT]

Dear S^r

I could never believe Mrs Whiteways Gasconades in telling me of her Acquaintance with You. But my Age and perpetuall disorders, and chiefly my vexatious Deafness, with other Infirmityes, have compleated the utter loss of my Memory, so that I cannot recollect the Names of those friends who come to see me twice or oftner every Week . . This beggarly Cousin of mine hath commanded me (this I assure is no *contrast*) She hath snatched my Pen to pride her self in a Polite Term of Art—¹

However, I remember to wish you a long lasting Joy of being no longer a Batcheler; especially because the Teizer at my Elbow assures me that the Lady is altogether worthy to be your Wife. I therefore command you both, (if I live so long) to attend me at the Deanry, the day after you land; where Mrs Precipitate (alias, Whiteway) says, I will give you a Scandalous Dinner. I suppose you will see Your Governour, my old Friend, John Barber, whom I heartily love, and so you are to tell Him. |

I am, Dear S^r | Your most obedient and obliged | Servant.
Jonath: Swift.

May 13. | 1740

Addressed by Mrs. Whiteway: To | William Richardson Esqr

Endorsed in another hand: 13. May 1740 | Dean of St Patrick

Deane Swift 1768

Mrs. Whiteway to Alexander Pope

May 16, 1740.

Sir,

Should I make an apology for writing to you, I might be asked why I did so? If I have erred, my design at least is good, both to you

¹ The sentence 'This beggarly . . . Term of Art' was not printed by Berkeley or by subsequent editors. The parenthetical words 'this I assure you is no *contrast*' are written in large letters by Mrs. Whiteway. The meaning is not very clear.

and the Dean of *St. Patrick*; for I write in relation to my friend, and I write to his friend, which I hope will plead my excuse. As I saw a letter of yours to him, wherein I had the honour to be named, I take the liberty to tell you (with grief of heart) his memory is so much impaired, that in a few hours he forgot it; nor is his judgment sound enough, had he many tracts by him, to finish or correct them, as you have desired. His health is as good as can be expected, free from all the tortures of old age; and his deafness, lately returned, is all the bodily uneasiness he hath to complain of. A few years ago he burnt most of his writings unprinted, except a few loose papers, which are in my possession, and which I promise you (if I out-live him) shall never be made publick without your approbation.¹ There is one treatise in his own keeping, called *Advice to Servants*, very unfinished and incorrect, yet what is done of it, hath so much humour, that it may appear as a posthumous work. The history of the four last years of queen *Anne*'s reign I suppose you have seen with Dr. *King*, to whom he sent it some time ago, and, if am rightly informed, is the only piece of his (except *Gulliver*) which he ever proposed making money by, and was given to Dr. *King* with that design, if it might be printed: I mention this to you, lest the Doctor should die, and his heirs imagine they have a right to dispose of it.² I intreat, Sir, you will not take notice to any person of the hints I have given you in this letter; they are only designed for yourself: to the Dean's friends in *England* they can only give trouble, and to his enemies and starvling wits cause of triumph. I inclose this to alderman *Barber*, who I am sure will deliver it safe, yet knows nothing more than it's being a paper that belongs to you.

The ceremony of answering women's letters, may perhaps make you think it necessary to answer mine; but I do not expect it, because your time either is or ought to be better employed, unless it be in my power to serve you in buying *Irish* linen, or any other command you are pleased to lay on me, which I shall execute, to the best of my capacity, with the greatest readiness, integrity, and secrecy; for whether it be my years, or a less degree of vanity in my composition

¹ It appears from all that Mrs. Whiteway here has to say that Pope, in a letter not traced, had asked Swift about further material to publish, and Mrs. Whiteway replies for him, whether on his instructions or not seems doubtful.

² As Professor Sherburn observes: 'This remark would not allay suspicions that Mrs. Whiteway and her son-in-law imagined that Swift's writings had a commercial value—to his heirs.'

16 May 1740

Mrs. Whiteway to Alexander Pope

than in some of my sex, I can receive such an honour from you without mentioning it. I should, some time past, have writ to you on this subject, had I not fancied that it glanced at the ambition of being thought a person of consequence, by interfering between you and the Dean; a character of all others which I dislike.

I have several of your letters to the Dean, which I will send by the first safe hand that I can get to deliver them to yourself; I believe it may be Mr. *M'Aulay*, the gentleman the Dean recommended through your friendship to the prince of *Wales*.

I believe this may be the only letter which you ever received without asking a favour, a compliment, extolling your genius, running in raptures on your poetry, or admiring your distinguishable virtue. I am, Sir, with very high respect, your most obedient and most humble servant, | Martha Whiteway.

Mr. *Swift*, who waited on you last *Summer*, is since that married to my daughter: he desires me to present you his most obedient respects and humble thanks for the particular honour conferred upon him in permitting him to spend a day with you at *Twickenham*; a favour he will always remember with gratitude.

4806

William Pulteney to Swift

London June 3^d 1740

Sir

I had sometime ago a letter from Mr Stopford¹ who told me, that you had enjoy'd a better state of health last year than you had done for some time past. No one wishes you more sincerely than I do, the continuance of it, and since the Gout has been your Physick I heartily hope you may have one good fit, regularly every year, and the rest of it, perfect health & Spirits.

I am persuaded you will do me the justice to believe, that if I have not wrote to you for some time it has proceeded from an unwillingness alone, of engaging you in a very useless Correspondence, and not from any want of a real regard & true esteem; Mr Pope can be my witness how constantly I enquire after you, & how pleased

¹ See pp. 179, n. 4 and 180.

& happy I am when he tells me that you have the goodness frequently to mention me in your letters to him. I fear you have but little desire to come among us again, England has few things inviting in it at present; Three Camps, near forty thousand Troops, & sixteen Kings,¹ & most of them such as are really fit to be Kings, in any part of the World. Four millions of money have been raised on the People this year, and in all probability nothing will be done; I have not the least Notion that even our Expedition under Lord Cathcart² is intended to be sent, anywhere, and yet every Minister we have (except S^r Rob^t) very gravely affirms it will go, nay & I am afraid believes it too. But our Situation is very extraordinary, S^r Rob^t will have an Army, will not have a War, & cannot have a Peace; that is the people are so averse to it, that he dares not make one. but in one year more, when by the Influence of this Army, & our money, he has got a new Parliament to his liking, then he will make a Peace, and get it approved too be it as it will; after which I am afraid we shall all grow tired of struggling any longer, & give up the Game. but I will trouble you with no more Politicks, & if I can hear from you in two lines that you are well, I promise you not to reply to it, too soon. You must give me leave to add to my letter a Copy of Verses at the end of a Declamation made by a Boy at Westminster School: on this Theme.

Ridentem dicere verum

Quid vetat.³

Dulce, Decane, decus, Flos optime gentis Hibernae,
 Nomine quique audis, ingenioque *Celer*;
 Dum lepido indulges risu, et mutaris in horas,
 Quo nova vis animi, materiesque rapit;
 Nunc gravis Astrologus caelo dominaris et astris,
 Filaque pro libitu Patrigiana secas.
 Nunc populo speciosa hospes miracula promis,
 Gentesque aequoreas; aeriasque creas.
 Seu plausum captat queruli Persona Draperi,
 Seu levis a vacuo fabula sumpta cado.

¹ The sixteen Lords Justices. The King was then in Hanover.

² The eighth Lord Cathcart, born in 1686, succeeded to the title in 1732. He had a long military career, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces destined to attack the Spanish Dominions in America. He set sail in October 1740, but died on the voyage on 20 Dec., aged fifty-four.

³ Hor. *Sat.* 1. i. 24.

3 June 1740

William Pulteney to Swift

Mores egregius mira exprimis arte Magister,
Et vitam atque homines pagina quaeque sapit
Socraticae minor est vis, & sapientia chartae,
Nec tantum potuit grande Platonis opus.

Mrs Pulteney knowing that I am writing to you, charges me to present her services, when I assure you that I am | most faithfully & sincerely your obedient humble | Servant | W^m Pulteney.

Endorsed by Swift: June 9th 1740 | William Pultenay. | Date. June. 3^d

Deane Swift 1768

Alexander Pope to Mrs. Whiteway

Twickenham, June 18, 1740.

Madam,

I am extremely sensible of the favour of your letter, and very well see the kindness as well as honour which moved you to it. I have no merit for the one, but being (like yourself) a sincere friend to the Dean, though much a less useful one; for all my friendship can only operate in wishes, yours in good works. He has had the happiness to meet with such in all the stages of his life; and I hope in God and in you, that he will not want one in the last. Never imagine, Madam, that I can do otherwise than esteem that sex, which has furnished him with the best friends.

The favour you offer me,¹ I accept with the utmost thankfulness; and I think no person more fit to convey it to my hands than Mr. *M'Aulay*, of whom I know you have so good an opinion. Indeed any one whom you think worthy your trust, I shall think deserves mine, in a point I am ever so tender of.

I wish the very small opportunity I had of shewing Mr. *Swift*, your son, my regards for him, had been greater; and I wish it now more, since he is become so near to you, for whom my respect runs hand in hand with my affection for the Dean; and I cannot wish well for the one without doing so for the other.

I turn my mind all I can from the melancholy subject of your letter. May God Almighty alleviate your concern, and his com-

¹ This letter is a reply to that of Mrs. Whiteway of 16 May in which she offers to send to Pope, by the agency of Macaulay, letters addressed by him to the Dean.

Alexander Pope to Mrs. Whiteway

18 June 1740

plaints, as much as possible in this state of infirmities, while he lives; and may your tenderness, Madam, prevent any thing after his death which may any way depreciate his memory. I dare say nothing of ill consequence can happen from the commission given Dr. *King*.

You see, Madam, I write to you with absolute freedom, as becomes me to the friend of my friend, and to a woman of sense and spirit. I will say no more, that you may find I treat you with the same delicacy that you do me (and for which I thank you) without the least compliment: and it is none when I add, that I am, with esteem, Madam, your most obliged and most obedient servant, | A. Pope.

Huntington Library HM 14351

John Barber to Mrs. Whiteway

[London, 26 June 1740]

Madam,

By the inclos'd you will see I have obey'd yr Commands, which I shall always do with pleasure.

I am glad to find my worthy Friend the Dean is well, and hope his Deafness will leave him, now the Summer is approaching. Pray make my Compliments to him in the best manner. | I am, Madam, | Yr most humble Servant | John Barber.

London, | June 26. 1740.

Deane Swift 1768

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

[26 July 1740]

I have been very miserable all night, and to-day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, That I am not in torture; but I daily and hourly expect it. Pray let me know how your health is, and your family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my days will be very few; few and miserable they must be. | I am, for those few days, yours intirely, | J. Swift.

26 July 1740

Swift to Mrs. Whiteway

If I do not blunder, it is Saturday, | July 26, 1740.

If I live till *Monday*, I shall hope to see you, perhaps for the last time.

Elwin-Courthope, viii. 425-6

Mrs. Whiteway to the Earl of Orrery

Oct. 7, 1740.

[EXTRACT]

I shall now talk to you as freely on another subject. The letters to and from [Dr. Swift]¹ had been printed long ago but for me. Mr. Faulkner can tell you that I opposed it publicly at the d[ean's] table, as I did often privately to himself, and with that warmth, which nothing could have excused but friendship. I got several persons to do the like, and put the book out of the way for some time,² and kept it till I was forced to restore it, or perjure myself. This I know was going greater lengths than honour could answer. When I saw all this was to no purpose, I insisted on Mr. Faulkner's writing to Mr. P[o]pe, which he did willingly. What has passed since he can acquaint you with. Yet I fear all will be to no purpose if your lordship does not engage Mr. Faulkner to refuse it absolutely, and a promise not to lay it in the d[ean's] way to command him. This is *entre nous*. I would give more than I will say to talk with you one quarter of an hour, and most humbly desire, if you come to town for ever so short a time, that I may have that honour. In the meanwhile depend upon the truth of a woman in this particular, that let what will come out, or be done by a certain person,³ it is entirely against my opinion, though all that is in my power is to show my dislike publicly to it. There is a time in life when people can hear no reason, and with a sigh, I say this is now the case with our friend. There is but one mortal in the world that I ever took notice of this to before, and he is such a friend to him as your lordship.

¹ These words suggest that Mrs. Whiteway had seen Faulkner's proposed title-page: *Letters to and from Dr. J. Swift, D.S.P.D. from the Year 1714, to 1738*.

² It may be assumed that the book did not reach Swift before about the middle of June.

³ i.e. Swift.

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

Caledon, Oct. 8, 1740.

I write this from the bed of pain, but when I consider your complaints, and how much greater loss your head will be to the world in general, than even my feet can be to me, I think I have no reason to murmur at my sufferings. They have been great this month past. Those cruel cramps which used to make your humanity pity me, are now turned into a settled confirmed gout, an hereditary evil, which renders my prospect of future life truly dismal. Yet for the sake of some young folk it is necessary I should live, and so God's will be done. But gouty as I am, January next will only complete me thirty-four.

When I cannot see you I am glad to see anybody who has seen you, or will see you. Mr. Faulkner will deliver you this. I have at our friend Mr. Pope's request, detained your book of letters, and could wish you would let them stay in my hands for some time till this mystery of their being in print is a little cleared up. I own, if you will forgive my impertinence, I wish they had not been printed, and now they are so I wish they may not be published. How they came into the press is, perhaps, one of those secrets which are reserved for the day of judgment, but certainly Mr. Pope had no hand in it. A private correspondence between familiar and open-hearted friends ought not to be opened to the public, since it may give pleasure to a man's enemies, and can add no reputation, nor give the least satisfaction to his friends. But I am preaching to Tillotson, I am teaching Delany to read, or mending Lord Oxford's heart. Pray forgive me, and believe all I ever have written to you, or ever shall write to you, is only meant to show the ever honoured Dean of St. Patrick's how much I am his most obedient, and obliged humble servant.

¹ Ball affirms that, 'This letter was printed from a copy in the possession of the Earl of Cork'.

17 December 1740

4806

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

[Caledon, 17 December 1740]

Dear Sir

Great Men like you must expect numberless petitions, which like Jupiter you put to various uses,¹ but wonder not when there is a place vacant in your Family that Every Body is striving for the Post. I mean your Cathedral Family; for we are told there is a vacancy in the Choir, I am desired to recommend to you One James Colgan aged 25. His Voice excellent, his Behaviour good, His Person indifferent, his Recommendation to me, irresistible.² I beseech you let Faulkner give me an Answer, for neither He nor I nor the Choir of Lords, Doctors, Commons, &c, are worth your while to give yourself one moment's uneasiness about, if you are not well. and I am more than afraid you are not. only I must be enabled to say I have mentioned him to you. My frozen Fingers will only serve me to present Lady Orrery's most humble service to you, and the best Wishes, Prayers, and Acknowledgements of all this Family. I am, Dr Sr, | your ever obliged | and obedient humble Servant | Orrery.

Caledon: December 17. 1740.

Address: To | The Rev^d Dr Swift | Dean of St. Patrick's

Elwin-Courthope, viii. 461

Mrs. Whiteway to the Earl of Orrery

Dec. 20, 1740.

Mr. Faulkner mistook me in telling your lordship that I sent you the letter that came from Bath. It is not in my power to do it, for I am under an engagement to Mr. P[o]pe to remit it by the first opportunity that is safe,³ with some other papers that I promised him I would send by Mr. M'Aulay, who intended being in London long before this, which business has prevented. This I hope will

¹ Cf. *Dunciad* (A), ii. 79 ff. (Twickenham ed., v. 107-8).

² Colgan was admitted to the place of vicar-choral a few years later, and held it until his death in 1772. He is said to have been 'remarkable for his fine manner of singing'.—Ball.

³ In actual fact Pope was hinting to friends suspicions of Mrs. Whiteway.

plead my excuse for not sending it to you. In the meantime I hope there is an end of the vexatious affair, if blabs will not mention it again to the dean, who has quite forgot it. Your, &c.

Elwin-Courthope, viii. 462-3

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Caledon, Dec. 24, 1740

Madam,

The same post that brought me the favour of yours,¹ brought me a letter from Mr. Pope, in which he entreats me to write to you, and desire you will send to me the papers you intended for him by Mr. M'Aulay, and the letter that was sent from Bath. I will take care, madam, to transmit them to him very safe, and as he seems impatient for them I beg you will lose no time in forwarding them to Caledon, and the moment I receive them, you shall have my acknowledgment of the receipt. I doubt, madam, it will be impossible to stop this vexatious affair. They are already in print. Who can stop the edition from coming out?² As they were printed on the other side of the water they will certainly appear there do what we can to suppress them in Ireland. And there is nothing in them, according to my apprehension, so reflecting upon anybody, as upon my honoured friend, the dean, who has let his friend's letters be stolen out of his custody.³ That is the only point that vexes me in the whole transaction. Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Gay must always write in such a manner as to give pleasure to the polite world, even in their most trifling correspondence; but as they certainly never writ these letters with an intention they should be printed, I own I am concerned upon the dean's account that they should appear by his means. Do you suspect, madam, any person that is or has been about him for so base a piece of theft as that of stealing papers? Such a person ought to be exposed to the whole

¹ The previous letter.

² Pope's earlier pretence was a wish to stop publication, his later that this was no longer possible.

³ Here Orrery is directly aspersing Swift, which he would not have done if, as Elwin suggests, he was at this time 'in a state of irresponsible helplessness'. That state arrived more than a year later.

24 December 1740

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

world. I dare say you will feel all the abhorrence on this occasion that is possible, and I heartily wish you could be the means of finding out, and explaining, their black and iniquitous piece of treachery.¹ I am in pain about my own letters, but much more about any papers that belong to the dean's friends and mine. I know this collection of letters will alarm every one of the dean's correspondents, and I should be glad, now my mind is at ease, to hear very fully from you upon this subject, but not till you are free from your cold, which I hope this will find you. I am, madam, with many thanks for your late trouble, your, etc.

Forgive me, madam, for troubling you with my thankful service to Dr. Wilson.

Huntington Library HM 14356

Lady Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Caledon Dec^{br}. 24th 1740

Dear Madam

A Nurse may be excused for being a bad correspondent even to a Lady who writes as agreeably as M^{rs}. Whiteway whose Letters I esteem more than those which gives² me accounts of the gayety nay even the scandal of London and Dublin.

You are so good as to enquire very particularly how I have been, and how Nursing agrees with me. as to the first thank God no body could possibly have recovered better, tho' the weather was as much against me as ever it ha . . . than last frost. My little . . . as well as³ if she was hanging at the back of a Beggar, and when I say this I think I have described a very fat Child.⁴ I am in as good a state of health as your friendship could wish me to be in. it is . . that friendship

¹ Is this an allusion to Wilson, who was accused of stealing books from Swift (*Dean Swift's Library*, pp. 14-22)? At a later date, 4 Dec. 1742, p. 209, Orrery did express a wish that Swift might be 'where Wilsons cannot break in and steal'. If Wilson already lay under Orrery's suspicion, it seems odd, however, that he should close this letter with the presentation of 'thankful service' to him.

² Thus written by Lady Orrery.

³ At this word the first page of writing ends. A piece of paper bearing nearly two lines has been torn away from the bottom of the leaf.

⁴ The reference is to her infant child, Lady Catherine.

You must accuse for troubling you with so long an account of my own Affairs.

I now must beg You to present my sincerely Affectionate Respects to the Dean of St Patricks. and humble Service to Mr^s Swift.¹ I am Madam | Your | Assured Friend | & humble Servant² | Margaret Orrery.

Huntington Library HM 14373³

Mrs. Whiteway to Lord Orrery

[30 December 1740]

Sr

I shall not hesitate one moment to Send your Lordship Mr Pope's Letters as likewise that from Bath;⁴ but how am I to convey them to you?—not by post Surely; for then I might be justly taxed with folly or breach of trust to venture them by so uncertain and dangerous a way. If your Lordship will order a faithfull Servant or a Gentleman with a line under your hand to call for them, I shall deliver them with pleasure; and this I should not do to any other person whatsoever without an immediate direction to my Self from Mr Pope, who knows I refused them to Mr Robert Nugent, from whom I had two Letters in the last⁵ telling me Mr Pope desired me to send them by his Mother then going to England; and by the same Paquet and the same date I had a letter from Mr Pope who told me he would expect them by Mr McAulay, who intended long agoe to have been in London if Business had not prevented Him. I am so far from Suspecting any person of this side the water (and therefore it would be unjust to Guess) that I do not beleive they were

¹ Mrs. Deane Swift. 'Molly', daughter of Mrs. Whiteway.

² It has been supposed that the references to theft and treachery in the previous letter are covertly aimed at Mrs. Whiteway herself; but the sincere friendliness of Lady Orrery's letter, which accompanied that of her husband, rules out this suggestion.

³ The manuscript in the Huntington Library is an unpunctuated draft, or copy; editorial punctuation has been supplied.

⁴ The letter that came over with the clandestine volume.—Sherburn.

⁵ Only one letter from Nugent, 2 Apr. 1740, is on record. A word seems to be missing after 'last'. Elwin supplies 'packet', which seems unlikely. Ball reads conjecturally 'summer'. Sherburn suggests that 'last' was a miswriting for 'past'.

taken here. I will tell you my reasons for it. First, I do assure your Lordship the Dean kept no Copys of Mr Popes Letters for these twelve years past to my knowledge,¹ nor to any Body else excepting to a Lord Lieutenant or a Bishop whom he feared might make an ill use of them; and most of those to Mr Pope I saw him write and send off immediately. This, therefore, makes me think it reasonable to suppose it is not from this quarter that Mr Pope hath been ill used, but must have been betrayed by his English Servants, who have more Cunning and a readier way of making money of them than ours have here; and I cannot imagin any person above the degree of a servant Capable of so base an action. My Lord, I beg leave to talk freely to you, and I can have no other view in it than to defend the Dean in a particular which Concerns his Honour and all those whom he thinks proper to place confidence in. You must, I beleive, have seen a book of letters Stitched together by the Dean, wherein there are a number of them from the greatest men in England both for Genius Learning and Power; Such as Lord Bollinbrook, Oxford, Ormond, Bathurst, Peterborough, and Queensborough; Parnell, Addison, Gay, Prior, Congreve, and Mr Lewis,² to say nothing of your Lordship (because I am writing to *you*), which are in my possession and may be Commanded when ever [you] please; for I have Lately got the Dean's leave to give them even while he is a live, which he at first refused me; and were there a person vile enough in this Kingdom to be bought, why were not these sold to Curl as well as the others; for surely not to mention [yours], Sir, some of the rest might be thought as entertaining to the world as the Dean's, and as easily to be stole. Permit me, my Lord, to ask a Question or two. Do you think the Letters to and from Doctor Swift are genuine? if so, will you look over them again and explain to me this Sentence? Mr Pope, taking occation to mention Mr Wycherly, immediately after says, 'Some letters of whose and mine have been lately published not without the Concurrence of a noble Lord, who is a friend of yours and mine.'³ I hope what I have said will Convince your

¹ If 'twelve years' seems to be a round number, it is probably approximately correct, for the English origin of the printed letters cannot be doubted.

² A marginal note appears on the manuscript in Mrs. Whiteway's hand: 'with severall bundles large enough to make a volume'. The names are those of writers whose letters are collected in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 4804-6. No letter from Parnell or Congreve is, however, to be found. Ball inserts the marginal note into the text of the letter.

³ Mrs. Whiteway is quoting, evidently by memory, from Pope's letter to

Mrs. Whiteway to Lord Orrery

30 December 1740

Lordship how much I detest the base practices of those who could be capable of betraying friendship. I once more repeat my Concern that I had not power enough with the dean to prevent their being given to Mr Faulkner, and returned to Mr Pope. If you think it proper, when you send him the papers, to present him my most obedient respects and this Letter; for I am Sure any thing of this kind from me is not worth his paying for. However, I shall Submit this and every thing else to your Lordship's Judgment. There is one particular I had like to have forgot, that one of the letters of Mr Pope's I took out of the Dean's Stitched book with his permission, and I must say I think equal to any he writ, and yet this Letter is safe and not printed, altho the book hath been lent to many of the Dean's friends

Decr 30th 1740

Huntington Library HM 14355

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

[Caledon, Januar]y 2: 1740-41.

[Madam,]¹

Your obliging Offer of returning my Letters, together with those designed for Mr Pope, is most gratefully accepted by Me. and therefore I send Mr Ellis, who is One of my Agents here, and whose Swift of 28 Nov. 1729. The passage is as follows: 'I speak of old Mr. Wycherley; some letters of whom (by the by) and mine, the Booksellers have got and printed not without the concurrence of a noble friend of mine and yours.' As Sherburn observes: 'Mrs. Whiteway asserted that she had never read the clandestine volume, but here she quotes from page 206 of it!'

¹ The original (Huntington Library, HM 14355) is written on pages 1, 2, and 3 of a folded sheet from which a portion has been torn away at the top, the tear, as is natural, removing slightly less paper from the second leaf. The word 'Madam', as may be presumed, and certainly nearly all the place and date, are missing from the first page. The letter was already torn when first printed by Scott in 1824, xix. 248-50. Elwin printed the letter twice (vii. 389 and viii. 492), and conjecturally supplied the missing phrases differently in the two texts. About four words are missing from the top of page 2. Elwin's suggested 'Instead of im' in his volume vii, does not fill the space. Ball follows Elwin's 'Not to mention some im' in volume viii, which is about right. Parts of two lines are missing from the top of page 3. The phrases shown above in square brackets, conjectured by Elwin in volume viii, may be accepted. These are followed by Ball save that inadvertently he omits 'for which reason'.

2 January 1740-1

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

honesty and integrity I can trust, to receive them from your own hands and to bring them down hither without the least Loss of Time. This is the most expeditious and the safest Method I could think of. The Parcel for Mr Pope I desire may be sealed up by You, but I could wish to see the Letter from Bath if you thought proper: if You enclose it to me, I will lose no time in forwarding it to Mr Pope.

Certainly, Madam, this printed Collection has been stolen by some low, mean, injudicious Person. probably some Servant, who has snatched them at various opportunities. They will do as little honour to the Writers, as any Thing can, that comes from such great and eminent Men. People's expectations will be raised by the Names prefixed to them, but those expectations will not be answered by the Letters themselves. The more I read them, the more I am convinced of the Truth of this opinion. [Not to mention some im-]prudencies of a high nature, the whole consists of private, [and] amiable familiarities, in which the publick can no ways be interested, nor much entertained.

I should think with You, Madam, that Some of Mr Pope's Servants had stolen them, did not many Letters appear from various People to the Dean, of which Mr Pope cannot be supposed either to have seen the copies or originals, but alas! it is but a melancholy comfort to me, that this unhappy Affair is so situated, as to redeem the honour of one Friend, at the Expence of another.

The Collection begins very early: before the Dean's Freindship with you, Madam, was in it's meridian. Since that time I am in no pain about his Letters. but yet permitt me to say that there are and have been other Persons about him, who may have very different views from You; nor can your Attendance be so constant as to hinder Transactions that may give You, Me, and all the [Dean's friends uneasiness, for which rea]son I shall be extremely [glad to have my own lette]rs returned; and You will please therefore to give them into Mr Ellis's Hands, who is to leave Dublin as soon as He receives them from You.

I am glad the Dean is no ways affected by this change of weather, his Health is extremely dear to me: would to God you could persuade him to come to Caledon, where Lady Orrery would take care to make the Place as agreeable as She could to him and you. She is by profession a Nurse, and performs her part excellently, but we are both much concerned that you are acting the same part to one of

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

2 January 1740-1

your Sons: the mildness of the Season will, we hope, soon remove his Complaint. I am, Madam, | Your most obedient humble | Servant. | Orrery.

Elwin-Courthope, viii. 495-6

The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Caledon, Jan. 10, 1740-1.

Madam,

By not receiving any letter from you either by this day's or Thursday's post, I fear you, or some of your family, are ill, and therefore am more anxious now to hear from you concerning your health than I was concerning the letters. You will relieve me I hope even before this can come to your hands, for if I hear nothing from you on Monday I shall be very uneasy.

Mr. Ellis brought me two parcels from you. That directed to myself contained the Bath letter, which I shall take care to give Mr. Pope, together with the sealed packet, directed for him. I have writ to him this moment to let him know how obligingly, and, particularly so to me, you have complied with his request. I return you many thanks, madam, for the delivery of my letters, from Curll, from God knows who. I am much obliged to the dean for permitting them to be restored to me. Upon a revisal of them I well see how dangerous a familiar, unguarded correspondence may be, not only to ourselves but to our friends, and I hope we may hear no more of this little volume which is printed, though I must fear it will come out in opposition to all our endeavours. In the mean time it remains safe in my custody,¹ nor shall I willingly deliver it up, unless by the dean's or Mr. Pope's commands. I have many letters to write, and as I am not without some thoughts of seeing you soon (this to yourself only), I will defer saying more at present, than that I am, madam, etc.

¹ Pope sent back the sheets of the clandestine volume to Orrery 27 Dec. 1740. Writing to Pope on 12 Jan. 1741 (Sherburn iv. 328), which was a Monday, Orrery says, 'On Monday the five packets due from England arrived at Caledon.' Writing to Mrs. Whiteway on Saturday the 10th he pretends that the packet is already safe in his custody. It could not have reached him so early as the preceding Monday, the 5th. If on the 10th the packet was in his hands it did not reach him on a Monday. Possibly the accepted date of Orrery's acknowledgement to Pope, 12 Jan. 1741, is due to an error in reading.

The Earl of Orrery and Alexander Pope to Swift

Duke Street Westmr March 22d 1740/1

Dear Sir¹

Your friends here are most inquisitive and anxious about your Health. If my wishes took place, the accounts I should give them would be extremely acceptable. May the returning Spring give You new Strength, and permitt me to add a new Inclination towards this Island. Your Mistress² would be happy in shewing her tender regards for You by attending You to Duke Street, where we would find Room for You, and all who belong to You.

Mr Pope, since my Arrival in London, has generously bestowed some of his time upon Me.³ A strong Instance that he loves Those who he knows love you. and indeed his Tenderness, his Affection, and his Sincerity towards You, are beyond description. I defye him, with all his Power of words, to tell You What he thinks of You, or feels for You; Were it possible I am sure He would come to You; make a whole Kingdom happy and come to him;—I am interrupted by Mr Pope himself; Let me withdraw and leave the Paper to Him: and believe me your ever obliged and ever obedient Servant Orrery.

My Dear Friend, When the Heart is full of Tenderness, it must be full of Concern at the absolute Impotency of all Words to come up to it. You are the only Man now in the world, who cost me a Sigh every day of my Life, and the Man it troubles me most, altho' I most wish, to write to. Death has not used me worse in separating from me for ever, poor Gay, Arbuthnot &c, than Disease & Distance in separating you so many years. But nothing shall make me forget you, and I am persuaded you will as little forget me; & most things in this world one may afford to forget, if we remember, & are remembered by, our Friends. I value and enjoy more, the memory of the Pleasures & Endearing Obligations I have formerly receivd from you, than the present Possession of any other. I am less anxious

¹ Orrery seems to have crossed to London without visiting Swift.

² Lady Orrery, soon to be expected in London.

³ In a letter to Lady Orrery, written ten days earlier, 12 Mar., his lordship informs her that 'Mr. Pope is at Twitnam, he has invited me thither but I cannot go till N.E. wind changes' (*Orrery Papers*, ii. 161).

every day I live for present Enjoymts of any sort, & my Temper of Mind is calmer as to Worldly disappointments & accidents except the loss of Friends by Death, the only way (I thank God) that I ever have lost any. Think it not possible that my Affection can cease but with my last breath: If I could think yours was alienated, I should grieve, but not reproach you: If I felt myself ev'n hurt by you, I shd be confident you knew not the Blow you gave, but had your hand guided by another: If I never more had a kind word from you, I should feel my heart the same it has ever been towards you. I must confess a late Incident has given me some pain; but I am satisfied you were persuaded it would not have given me any: And whatever unpleasant circumstances the printing our Letters might be attended with, there was *One* that pleas'd me, that the strict Friendship we have born each other so long, is thus made known to all mankind. As far as it was Your Will, I cannot be angry, at what in all other respects I am quite uneasy under. Had y^u ask'd me, before you gave them away, I think I could have proposed some *better Monument* of our Friendship or at least of *better Materials*: And you must allow me to say, This was not of my erecting, but yours. My Part of them is far too mean,¹ & how inferior to what you have every where in yr Works set up to Me? Can I see these without Shame? when I reflect on the many beautiful, pathetic, & amiable Lines of yours,² which carry to Posterity the Name of a Man, who if he had every good Quality which you so kindly ascribe to him, would be so proud of none, as the Constancy, and the Justice, of his Esteem for you. Adieu. While I can write, speak, remember, or think, I am Yours. | A. Pope.

¹ As Professor Sherburn observes, 'It is obvious that the volume of letters contains more and better letters by Swift than by Pope'.

² This can hardly be taken as representing Pope's veracious sentiments. He took exception to Swift's tribute to him in *A Libel on Doctor Delany*, ll. 71 ff. See his letter to Swift, 4 Mar. 1729-30: 'We have here some verses in your name, which I am angry at.' The lines on Pope in *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 47-52, might have been more happily phrased. Compare with these the *Epistle to Augustus*, ii. 221-4, and *The Dunciad*, i. 19-28. This is Pope's last known letter to Swift.

8 June 1741

Swift to Eaton Stannard

Forster copy 556

Swift to Eaton Stannard

[Deanery House, 8 June 1741]

Sr

I know the Bearer Mr William Swift to be a deserving young Gentleman, and I think he hath some learning, although he be just returned from the Study of Law. He is my Relation, and I desire you will please to present him to my Lord Chancellour.¹ I am Worthy Sr with true esteem, | Your most obedient humble servant, | Jonathan Swift

Deanry House | June 8th 1741

Address: To Eaton Stannard, Esq^r, Dublin

Deane Swift 1768

The Earl of Orrery to Swift

Duke-Street, Westminster, July 7, 1741.

Thanks to you, dear Sir, for your frequent remembrance of me by my great friend and patron Master *George Faulkner*: thanks to you for the honours you have shewed my wife:² but above all, thanks to you for using exercise and taking care of your health. It is the strongest instance of affection your friends either desire or deserve. In mentioning your friends, I must particularize Mr. *Pope*: he obeys your commands, and flings away much time upon me: *Nec deficit alter aureus*; Doctor *King* does the same. Thus deities condescended to visit and converse with mortals.

Poor lord *Oxford* is gone to those regions from whence travellers never return,³ unless in an airy visit to faithless lovers, as *Margaret*

¹ Robert Jocelyn, who was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1739. He was created a peer as Baron Newport in 1743 and advanced in the peerage as Viscount Jocelyn in 1755, almost exactly a year before his death. *D.N.B.*, Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii. 203.

² Lady Orrery seems to have left home, to join her husband in England, on 18 June. She probably stayed in Dublin on her way (*Orrery Papers*, ii. 166–7).

³ The second Lord Oxford died in London on 16 June, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 25th.

to *William*;¹ or to cities devoted to destruction, as *Hector* amidst the flames of *Troy*. The deceased earl has left behind him many books, many manuscripts, and no money:² his lady brought him five hundred thousand pounds, four of which have been sacrificed to indolence, good-nature, and want of worldly wisdom: and there will still remain, after proper sales and right management, five thousand pounds a year for his widow.

Mr. *Caesar* died about two months ago.³ Mrs. *Caesar* is still all tears and lamentations, although she certainly may be numbered *inter felices, sua si bona norint*.

Lord *Bathurst* is at *Cirencester*, erecting pillars and statues to queen *Anne*. Lord *Bolingbroke* lives in *France*: posterity, it is to be hoped, may be the better for his retirement. The duke of *Argyle* reigns, or ought to reign in *Scotland*⁴—Such is the state of *Europe*; but our disappointment in *America* has cast a gloomy face over *London* and *Westminster*.⁵ The citizens have recourse to mum⁶ and tobacco, by which means they puff away care, and keep dismay at a proper distance, in the mean time, my friends the ducks and geese in the *Park* cackle on, and join in chorus to the sounds of victory that are daily drummed forth on the parade, but reach no farther than the atmosphere of *Whitehall*.—What news next? The weather—but you certainly know it is hot; for in truth, notwithstanding this letter comes from my heart, and is written in the pleasure of thinking of you, yet I sweat to assure you how much I am, dear Sir, your ever obliged and obedient humble servant, | Orrery.

¹ An allusion to David Mallet's 'William and Margaret'.

² Lord Oxford's expensive tastes in building and landscape gardening, as well as his passion for collecting books, paintings, and curiosities, had for long been causing him serious financial embarrassment. Writing two weeks before Oxford's death George Vertue, the eminent engraver, gives a most moving account of how the mortification of his mind had wasted his body (B.M. Add. MS. 23093).

³ Charles Caesar had died on 2 Apr.

⁴ John Campbell, second Duke of Argyle, with whom at one time, during the period of *The Journal to Stella*, Swift was on friendly terms, won popularity in Scotland by his defence of Edinburgh, in 1737, against the Porteous mob.

⁵ The miserable failure of the attack on Cartagena under Admiral Vernon and Brigadier-General Wentworth.

⁶ A kind of beer of a type originally brewed in Brunswick.

22 November 1742

Mrs. Whiteway to the Earl of Orrery

Orrery's Remarks, pp. 139-41

Mrs. Whiteway to the Earl of Orrery

Dublin, November 22, 1742.

My Lord,

The easy manner, in which you reproach me for not acquainting you with the poor Dean's situation, lays a fresh obligation upon me; yet mean as an excuse is for a fault, I shall attempt one to your Lordship, and only for this reason, that you may not think me capable of neglecting any thing you could command me. I told you in my last letter, the Dean's understanding was quite gone, and I feared the farther particulars would only shock the tenderness of your nature, and the melancholy scene make your heart ach, as it has often done mine. I was the last person whom he knew, and when that part of his memory failed, he was so outrageous at seeing any body, that I was forced to leave him, nor could he rest for a night or two after seeing any person: so that all the attendance which I could pay him was calling twice a week to enquire after his health, and to observe that proper care was taken of him, and durst only look at him while his back was towards me, fearing to discompose him. He walked ten hours a day, would not eat or drink if his servant stayed in the room. His meat was served up ready cut, and sometimes it would lie an hour on the table before he would touch it, and then eat it walking. About six weeks ago, in one night's time, his left eye swelled as large as an egg, and the lid Mr. NICHOLS (his surgeon) thought would mortify, and many large boils appeared under his arms and body. The torture he was in, is not to be described. Five persons could scarce hold him for a week from tearing out his own eyes: and, for near a month, he did not sleep two hours in twenty four: yet a moderate appetite continued; and what is more to be wondered at, the last day of his illness, he knew me perfectly well, took me by the hand, called me by my name, and shewed the same pleasure as usual in seeing me. I asked him, if he would give me a dinner? He said, to be sure, my old friend. Thus he continued that day, and knew the Doctor and Surgeon, and all his family so well, that Mr. NICHOLS thought it possible he might return to a share of understanding, so as to able to call for what he wanted, and to bear some of his old friends to amuse him. But alas! this pleasure to me was but of short duration; for the next day or two it was all over, and proved to be only pain that had rouzed him.

Mrs. Whiteway to the Earl of Orrery

22 November 1742

He is now free from torture: his eye almost well; very quiet, and begins to sleep, but cannot, without great difficulty, be prevailed on to walk a turn about his room: and yet in this way the Physicians think he may hold out for some time. I am my Lord, | Your Lordship's most obedient | humble servant, | M. Whiteway.

Deane Swift 1768

The Earl of Orrery to Deane Swift

Marston, Dec. 4, 1742.¹

Sir,

I am much obliged to you for the full, though melancholy, account you have sent me of my ever honoured friend. It is the more melancholy to me, as I have heard him often lament the particular misfortune incident to human nature, of an utter deprivation of senses many years before a deprivation of life. I have heard him describe persons in that condition, with a liveliness and a horror, that on this late occasion have recalled to me his very words. Our litany, methinks, should have an addition of a particular prayer against this most dreadful misfortune. I am sure mine shall. The bite of a mad dog (a most tremendous evil) ends soon in death; but the effects of his loss of memory may last even to the longest age of man; therefore I own my friendship for him has now changed my thoughts and wishes into the very reverse of what they were. I rejoice to hear he grows lean. I am sorry to hear his appetite is good. I was glad when there seemed an approaching mortification in his eyelid. In one word, the man I wished to live the longest, I wish the soonest dead. It is the only blessing that can now befall him. His

¹ This letter was transcribed by Orrery, with some variants, into his letter-book now at Harvard (MS. Eng. 218. 2, vol. 3, pp. 336-42). Its date is clearly '10^r: 4. 1742' and it is placed in sequence between letters dated December; Orrery's marginal note reads 'In answer to the account of Wilson's base usage of the Dean', which is indeed the topic of Deane Swift's lengthy letter to him, pp. 209-12 below. On the same day, 4 Dec., Orrery acknowledged Mrs. Whiteway's letter of 22 Nov., in an unpublished letter now at Harvard.

4 December 1742

The Earl of Orrery to Deane Swift

reason will never return; or if it should, it will only be to shew him the misery of having lost it. I am impatient for his going where imperfection ceases, and where perfection begins; where *Wilsons* cannot break in and steal, and where envy, hatred, and malice have no influence or power. Whilst he continues to breathe, he is an example, stronger and more piercing than he or any other divine could preach, against pride, conceit, and vain glory. Good God! Doctor *Swift* beaten and marked with stripes by a beast in human shape, one *Wilson*. But he is not only an example against presumption and haughtiness, but in reality an incitement to marriage. Men in years ought always to secure a friend to take care of declining life, and watch narrowly, as they fall, the last minute particles of the hour glass. A batchelor will seldom find, among all his kindred, so true a nurse, so faithful a friend, so disinterested a companion, as one tied to him by the double chain of duty and affection. A wife could not be banished from his chamber, or his unhappy hours of retirement: nor had the Dean felt a blow, or wanted a companion, had he been married, or, in other words, had *Stella* lived. All that a friend could do, has been done by Mrs. *Whiteway*; all that a companion could persuade, has been attempted by Mrs. *Ridgeway*: the rest—but I shall run on for ever; and I set out at first only with an intention of thanking you for your letter, and assuring you that I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, | Orrery.

P.S. I beg to hear from you from time to time, if any new occurrence happens in the Dean's unhappy state.

University Library, Cambridge¹

Deane Swift to the Earl of Orrery

December 19th, 1742.

My Lord,

In obedience to your Lordship's commands I send you an account of that abominable usage which the Dean of St Patrick's met with

¹ In Orrery's copy of Millar's second edition of the *Remarks* (Williams collection no. 473). Orrery had sought news of the Dean from Mrs. Whiteway (who replied on 22 Nov.) and from Deane Swift, whose reply he acknowledged on 4 Dec. As the present letter exactly answers Orrery's description (p. 208 and *n.* above) it may be conjectured that the scribe has put 'December' for 'November'.

last Summer from one Dr Wilson, and that your Lordship may see the man who was capable of abusing so great a person, I shall close the relation of that business with part of Wilson's Character, which I propose to sketch out with all the impartiality of an indifferent Spectator. To give your Lordship some light into this proceeding, it may perhaps be requisite to say, that *Wilson* is one of the Dean's Prebendaries,¹ and that ever since his Acquaintance with *the Dean*, he has used all the means in his power to subvert *Doctor Wynne*² in the office of Sub-Dean, that he himself might succeed in his place. This Fellow is besides Tenant to the Deanery Tythes, which Circumstance of his life, did all at once so fix his acquaintance and intimacy with *the Dean*, that for these last five or six years, ever since he became Tenant, he has lived full half the time, in the Dean's house. What this Man's intentions were the morning he invited *the Dean* to dine with him in the Country, are not known: but this is certain, that he took all imaginary pains to hurry *the Dean* out of Town in a Hackney Coach, without taking his friend *Mrs. Ridgeway* along with him, which the Dean has always done, ever since he began to be conscious of his want of memory, and other infirmities. However, it doth not as yet appear, that any abuse was committed by *Wilson* before dinner, in the absence of the Dean's Servant: and it is probable, from *Wilson's* behaviour in the afternoon, that if he attempted to impose upon the Dean in the morning, he miscarried in his design. This I mention, because it was the general opinion of those who are to be the *Dean's* Executors, and of many others, that *Wilson's* honesty, in regard to money matters, was not to be trusted; and therefore it was not unlikely, if for small payments he could get large Receipts, it would not disturb his conscience, and indeed every body was inclined to believe the worst of the Doctor, because it was notorious that so long as the *Dean's* memory and judgement were tolerable *Wilson* seldom or ever paid the *Dean* any money but in the presence of *Mrs Whiteway*, and after the *Dean's* memory failed, he always paid the *Dean* in private; notwithstanding he was frequently warned to the contrary. There was one circumstance,

¹ Wilson was prebendary of Kilmactalway in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

² John Wynne, who became Precentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1730, was appointed subdean by Swift in 1739, for he felt himself by reason of failing health no longer able to be present and personally preside in the Chapter. Chapter minute, 18 July 1739. The original instrument with Swift's signature and seal, dated 30 Apr. 1739, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

which the Dean's friends thought proper to have suppressed in the Servant's examination, which was, that Wilson made the *Dean* drunk. Now the *Dean's* stint for about half a year before, was two large bumpers of Wine somewhat more than half a pint. When the *Dean* had drunk this quantity, *Wilson* pressed him to another glass, which the *Dean's* footman observing, told Wilson, in a low voice, that his Master never drank above two glasses, and if he forced him to a third, it would certainly affect his Head. But *Wilson* not only made light of this caution, and imposed another glass upon the *Dean*, but called afterwards for a Bottle of strong White Wine, and forced the *Dean* to drink of it, which, in a short time, did so intoxicate him, that he was not able to walk to the Coach without being supported: and after all this, *Wilson* called at an Ale House on his way to Dublin, and forced the poor *Dean* to swallow a dram of Brandy. It was not long after when *Wilson* began to grow very noisy, and to curse and swear, and to abuse the *Dean* most horribly, as it is at large set forth in the Servant's Examination. Whether he struck the *Dean* or not is uncertain, but, one of the *Dean's* arms was observed, next morning, to be black and blue. The noise of this bustle in the Street, sudden as it was, drew a small handful of the Common people together, who have since declared, that if they had known it was the *Dean*, whom *Wilson* had abused, they would have torn the Wretch to pieces: but he escaped the justice of a gratefull people, for the measure of his Iniquity was not then full. I had almost forgot to acquaint your Lordship with the most deplorable Circumstance of that whole day, which was, That within a quarter of an hour after the *Dean* had received this treatment, as soon as he had entered his own house, he asked for this Fellow with a kind of surprise, saying, 'Where is *Doctor Wilson*? Ought not the Doctor to be here this afternoon?' So absolutely was he then lost to all reason and memory: and indeed it was the talk of the Town, that a Statute of Lunacy ought to be taken out, in order to guard the Dean against further insults, and wrongs of all kinds. In justice to the Dean's friends here, give me leave to assure your Lordship, that if an action at law could have been grounded upon the Servant's examination, *Wilson* would have been severely handled; for, the whole Nation, to a Man, resented the affront. All that was in my power to do upon this occasion was to leave orders with the Dean's servants, that I might be sent for privately whenever that fellow presumed to visit the Dean: and this I did, with a resolution to expose the Villain,

Deane Swift to the Earl of Orrery

19 December 1742

and make the Dean sensible of the usage he had received: but this I never had an Opportunity of doing, for since that time, he never once attempted to enter the Dean's house. | I am, My Lord, | your Lordship's | most obedient and | most humble servant, | Deane Swift.

John Rylands Library, R. 659

Lady Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Marston Dec^{br} 29:th 1742

Dear Madam

Tho' my Eyes are still a little weak, yet I must thank you for all your good wishes to me and my Son Edmund.¹ He is a fine strong Child, and I have not from the moment of his birth, had the least complaint. I recovered very soon; even tho' the day Edmund was a Fortnight old he was taken extreamly ill, with disorders occasioned by Wind: Mr Cleland who attended Him said, as Milk was a Windy Food, the Child must not suck, I have consented, and he is to be brought up by Hand, he feeds very well, and will not want my Breast. I may therefore go and suckle her Grace of Marlborough, who lives entirely upon Breast Milk. without M^{rs} Swift² (to whome my best Respects) wants a Nurse.

We have fixed our residence at this Place for the Winter. the Gayeties of Life I have long been tired of, and if it pleas God Almighty my little Boy lives, this part of the World which is in all respects the most solitary I ever knew, will want nothing but now and then the sight of so good a Friend as M^{rs} Whiteways, to whome I am, more than my paper will permit me to say, but in one word Yours | M Orrery

Address: To M^{rs} Whiteway | in Capell-Street | Dublin | Ireland

Postmark: 31 DE

¹ Lady Orrery's son, Edmund, was born on 21 Nov. He succeeded as eighth Earl of Cork, Earl of Orrery, &c., in 1764, and died 6 Oct. 1798.

² Mrs. Deane Swift.

26 March 1744

Lady Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Huntington Library HM 14357

Lady Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway

Marston March 26: 1744

Dear Madam

I have been for these three weeks so blinded by a violent Cold in my head, that I have been scarce able to write a line; and at the present I am obliged to be very short in my Epistles, these are my reasons for not having sooner thanked you for your kind Letter, and assuring you how thoroughly I am concerned at the melancholy State of your Health. yet hope, the constant attendant of good wishes, makes me flatter myself, that as this severe Month is near an End, you will find more benefit from the approach of Summer and warm Weather, than from the best Physicians, and most carefull Apothcaries.

My Lord returns home on Wednesday, he has been long detained at London by other peoples Law business, and a most gentle fit of the Gout. During his absence I have been highly amused with Books, my . . .¹ as to his parts and Wit, I find him just as great a Genius as Mr^s Swift, or your fond Eyes perceive in Miss and Master Swift.² The next question you asked me was when we should meet in Ireland. This year I shall be not be able to travel till the latter end of July, and therefore I must postpone that happiness till next Spring, the time between, I propose (if it please God, I live and do well), to amuse myself with the agreeable care of nursing, and teaching Edmund to speak, who as yet only expresses himself in signs, and a few words. My Eyes will only wish your Family and you Dr Madam health and happiness; and subscribe myself | your most Aff^{ct} | Friend and | humble Servant

M Orrery

P.S. as the poor Dean remains in the same melancholy State, I shall not add fresh sorrow to

¹ A line or two torn from the foot of this and the next page.

² Children of Deane Swift.

Deane Swift to the Earl of Orrery

Dublin, April 4, 1744.

My Lord,

As to the story of *O poor old man!* I enquired into it. The Dean did say something upon his seeing himself in the glass, but neither Mrs. *Ridgeway*, nor the lower servants could tell what it was he said. I desired them to recollect it, by the time when I should come again to the deanery. I have been there since, they cannot recollect it. A thousand stories have been invented of him within these two years, and imposed upon the world. I thought this might have been one of them: and yet I am now inclined to think, there may be some truth in it: for on Sunday the 17th of March, as he sat in his chair, upon the housekeeper's moving a knife from him as he was going to catch at it, he shrugged his shoulders, and, rocking himself, said, *I am what I am, I am what I am*: and, about six minutes afterwards, repeated the same words two or three times over.¹

His servant shaves his cheeks, and all his face as low as the tip of his chin, once a week: but under the chin, and about the throat, when the hair grows long, it is cut with scissars.

Sometimes he will not utter a syllable: at other times he will speak incoherent words: but he never yet, as far as I could hear, talked nonsense, or said a foolish thing.

About four months ago he gave me great trouble: he seemed to have a mind to talk to me. In order to try what he would say, I told him, I came to dine with him, and immediately his housekeeper, Mrs. *Ridgeway*, said, *Won't you give Mr. Swift a glass of wine, Sir?* he shrugged his shoulders, just as he used to do when he had a mind that a friend should spend the evening with him. Shrugging his shoulders, your Lordship may remember, was as much as to say, 'You'll ruin me in wine.' I own, I was scarce able to bear the sight.

¹ Among the thousand invented stories is one which may be dismissed—that the servants privately took money for admitting strangers to see the Dean, a wreck of his former greatness. The appointed guardians would prevent any gross practice of the kind. Scott (*Memoirs*, 1814, p. 459 n.) does relate this story on the authority of 'one of the Editor's most intimate friends' (Lord Kinneddar). Even so the veracity of the tale is much in doubt. See Appendix XXXIV *post*.

4 April 1744

Deane Swift to the Earl of Orrery

Soon after, he again endeavoured, with a good deal of pain, to find words to speak to me: at last, not being able, after many efforts, he gave a heavy sigh, and, I think, was afterwards silent. This puts me in mind of what he said about five days ago. He endeavoured several times to speak to his servant (now and then he calls him by his name) at last, not finding words to express what he would be at, after some uneasiness, he said 'I am a fool'. Not long ago, the servant took up his watch that lay upon the table to see what o'clock it was, he said, 'Bring it here:' and when it was brought, he looked very attentively at it: some time ago, the servant was breaking a large stubborn coal, he said, 'That's a stone, you blockhead.'

In a few days, or some very short time, after guardians had been appointed for him, I went into his dining room, where he was walking, I said something to him very insignificant, I know not what; but, instead of making any kind of answer to it, he said, 'Go, Go,' pointing with his hand to the door, and immediately afterwards, raising his hand to his head, he said, 'My best understanding,' and so broke off abruptly, and walked away. I am, my Lord, | Your Lordship's most obedient, | and most humble servant, | Deane Swift.

Huntington Library HM 14350

Mrs. Whiteway to one of Swift's Executors

[22 October 1745]

S^r

the indignation which the town have expressed at the manner of burying their Patriot, is a proof his memory is as dear, as his life was once to them. I am told, and I wish my authority may not be true that Doc^r Swift is to be carried out of his back door at one in the morning by four porters into the Church, attended only by two Clergymen, with the Circumstance of the respect paid to them, of giving each a Scarf . . I know his desire was to be buried as privately as possible; but, were the same persons, to be executors, to a Duke, and a man who had left but five p^{ds} behind him, would the words be construed in the same literal sence, and I appeal to your self, whether ever you knew a Gentleman who's corpse was not in danger of being arrested for debt, treated in such a manner. an

executed villainous Criminal, to whom the Law doth not allow Christian burial, could only be used thus, by some slight acquaintance. surely to hang the room Doctor Swift lyes in with black, to give him an Hearse, and a few mourning coaches, would be judged a funeral sufficiently private for so great A Man;¹ and that he himself thought decency requisite at a funeral, may be known by what he did for his honest, trusty, Servant, Alexander M^cGee.² if this expence be thought too much to be taken from the noble Charity he hath bequeathed, I make the offer of doing it, and desire it may be taken out of my Legacy, which shall be gratefully allowed by me, as the last respect I can pay to my great and worthy friend.

if this favour be denied me, I shall let whoever mentions the affair in my hearing, know the offer I have made, | I am Sr | y^r most obe^t & most | Humble Servant, | Martha Whiteway

Oct^r 22nd 1745 | ten in the morning

¹ In Mason's *Hist. of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 411, the following unpleasing account of Swift exposed in his coffin appears: 'He was laid out in his own hall, and great crowds went to see him. His coffin was open; he had on his head neither cap nor wig; there was not much hair on the front or very top, but it was long and thick behind, very white, and was like flax on the pillow. Mrs. Barnard, his nurse-tender, sat at his head, but having occasion to leave the room for a short time, some person cut a lock of hair from his head, which she missed upon her return, and after that day no person was admitted to see him.'

² Swift's faithful servant Alexander M^cGee, who died 24 Mar. 1721-2 and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

APPENDIX I

1 November 1708 to 1 November 1709

TO		FROM		POSTAGE
1708		1708		
Nov. 9.	Abp. of Dublin. Bp. of Clogher. Dr. Raymond. Mr. Henley. Mr. Walls. Mr. Percival.	Nov. 1.	Bp. of Clogher. to Mr. Walls. . . . }	1s. 6d.
12.	MD. 10. Mrs. Davis.	10.	Dr. Smith. . . . }	
18.	Mr. Crowe.		MD.	
20.	Dr. Smith.		Mr. Crowe.	
23.	MD. 11. Patty Rolt.		Mr. Domville.	
27.	Mother.		Mr. Henley.	
30.	Dean of St. Patrick's. (Abp. of Dublin en- closed.)		Mr. Collier	2d.
Dec. 2.	Mr. Domville.	12.	Patty Rolt	2d.
14.	MD. 12.	19.	MD. 9.	6d.
30.	MD. 13.		Mrs. Davis.	
1709		22.	Patty Rolt }	8d.
Jan. 4.	Bp. of Clogher.		Mr. Reading }	
6.	Abp. of Dublin. Mother. MD. 14.	25.	Mr. Bernage	6d.
13.	MD. 15. Governor of Virginia.	Dec. 4.	Abp. of Dublin.	
22.	MD. 16.	6.	Earl of Abercorn.	
29.	MD. 17.	8.	Mother.	
Feb. 4.	Lord Somers. Tom Ashe.	13.	Mr. Walls }	1s.
12.	MD. 18. Bp. of Clogher.		Mr. Walls }	
24.	Mother.		Dean of St. Patrick's.	
26.	MD. 19.	20.	MD. 10 }	1s.
Mar. 5.	Dean of St. Patrick's.		Mr. Walls (With a bill.) }	
8.	Mr. Ford. Governor of Virginia.	23.	Mrs. Davis	3d.
		26.	Dr. Raymond	8d.
		30.	MD. 11	6d.
		1709		
		Jan. 7.	Bp. of Clogher. (By Mr. Reading.) Unknown hand with a slur. Governor of Virginia. (From Paris.)	
		13.	Freckleton }	9d.
			Mother. }	
		19.	Parvisol }	1s. 2d.
			Mr. Ford }	
		28.	Bp. of Clogher	6d.

¹ Taken from Swift's Account Books, see Appendix II.

Appendix I

	TO		FROM	POSTAGE
1709		1709		
	15. MD. 20. Mr. Philips of Copenhagen.		Sir Matthew Dudley. Sir Matthew Dudley.	
	24. Lord Primate. (With Lord Wharton enclosed.)	Feb. 1. MD. 12		6d.
	26. Abp. of Dublin. (Enclosed Dean of St. Patrick's.)	4. Mr. Walls		1s.
	31. Mr. Domville (at Geneva.) Bp. of Clogher. (J. B. and Parvisol enclosed.)	8. Mr. Bernage		6d.
Apr.	2. MD. 21.	12. Mr. Domville. (From Geneva.)		
	9. Bp. of Clogher. (By Mr. Addison.)	18. Mr. Gordon.		
	15. Mr. Addison.	19. MD. 13		1s.
	19. Mother. MD. 22.	MD. 14		6d.
	21. Patty Rolt.	Mrs. de Caudres		1s.
	23. Earl of Berkeley.	Abp. of Dublin		
	24. Mr. Dubois.	22. Mr. Philips. (From Copenhagen.)		
	28. Mr. Ford.	24. Mr. Wesley		1s.
May	9. MD. 23. (From Leicester.) Bp. of Clogher. Mr. Addison Mr. Tooke. Lord Mountjoy.	Mar. 3. Mother		3d.
	11. Mr. Steele. Mrs. Barton Sir A. Fountaine.	10. MD. 15.		6d.
	16. Lady Lucy. Mrs. Vanhomrigh.	15. MD. 16		6d.
	21. Lord Mountjoy.	19. Dean of St. Patrick's Abp. of Dublin		6d.
	26. Sir G. Beaumont. Sir A. Fountaine. Mr. Steele. Will Frankland. Mrs. Barton.	30. Bp. of Clogher		1s. 6d.
	30. Lord Mountjoy.	Mr. Walls		
June	1. Mr. Tooke. Lord Mountjoy. Sir A. Fountaine. Mr. Frankland.	J. B.		
		Apr. 4. Mrs. B[arto]n. Patty Rolt		2d.
		8. MD. 17		6d.
		20. Patty Rolt		2d.
		23. Earl of Berkeley.		
		24. Mother		9d.
		Bp. of Clogher		
		Mr. Ford.		
		May 1. MD. 18		6d.
		Mr. Addison. (From Ireland.)		
		9. Bp. of Clogher (To Leicester.)		1s. 6d.
		MD. 19		
		14. Lord Mountjoy		1s.
		Mr. Steele, etc. . . .		
		16. Sir. A. Fountaine, etc.		9d.
		21. Mrs. Barton		6d.
		26. Mrs. Vanhomrigh. . . .		1s.
		Sir A. Fountaine, etc. . . .		
		28. Bp. of Clogher, etc. . . .		1s.

Appendix I

TO		FROM		POSTAGE
1709		1709		
4.	Governor of Virginia. Harry Coot.		Mr. Addison.	
6.	Mrs. Armstrong. Ben Tooke	received a little before	{ Mrs. Armstrong and Lady Lucy. Mr. Philips. (From Copenhagen.)	
13.	Lord High Admiral. Lord President. Earl of Berkeley. Lord Mountjoy. Lord Halifax. Mr. Steele. Mrs. Vanhomrigh. MD. 24. (Enclosed to Reading.) Mr. Tooke At Chester—	June 6.	Will Frankland . . . Sir A. Fountaine . . .	6½d.
			In Ireland—	
		July 1.	Mrs. Barton. Sir A. Fountaine. Mishessy. Mr. Addison. (Returned me from Chester.) Lord Mountjoy.	
to 30th	{ Mother. Mr. Addison. Bp. of Clogher. In Ireland—	Aug. 6.	Sir A. Fountaine, etc. Lady Giffard. Mother.	
July 8.	Mother.	16.	Mr. Philips. (Copenhagen.) Mr. Tooke.	
18.	Mrs. Barton. Sir A. Fountaine.	24.	Sir A. Fountaine . . .	6½d.
Aug.	Sir A. Fountaine. Mrs. Barton.	Oct. 6.	Lady Giffard . . . (Enclosed.)	4d.
27.	Lady Giffard.	19.	MD. (Double letter.) .	4d.
Sept. 13.	Mother. Mr. Tooke. Parvisol.	23.	D. Ash. Sir A. Fountaine. Lord Halifax. Mr. Steele.	2d.
Oct. 20.	Mr. Addison. H. Coote.	30.	Mr. Addison Mr. Philips (From London.) Sir A. Fountaine . . . Mother.	1s. 6d.
30.	Mr. Addison. Mr. Steele. Mr. Philips. Sir A. Fountaine. Bp. of Clogher.			

I November 1709 to I November 1710

FROM		POSTAGE	FROM		POSTAGE
1709			1709		
Nov. 26.	Mishessy . . .	6d.	12.	MD.	5d.
to	Mr. Morgan . .	6d.	1710		
Dec. 10.	Earl of Berkeley .	8d.	Apr. 1.	Lady Berkeley .	6d.
			to 3.	Sir A. Fountaine	6d.

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FROM		POSTAGE	FROM		POSTAGE
1710			1710		
July [6].	Mr. Domville.	} 1s. 6d.	Sept. 26.	MD.	6d.
	Dr. Raymond			Abp.	1s. 6d.
Sept. 15.	Dr. Raymond, etc.	7d.	Oct. 3.	Pratt	6d.
22.	MD.	} 1s. 2d.	21.	MD. 4.	6d.
	Beaumont		26.	Morgan	} 1s. 2d.
25.	Morgan	6d.		Parvisol	

I November 1711 to I November 1712

TO		POSTAGE	FROM		POSTAGE
1711			1711		
Nov. 1.	Lady Oglethorpe.		Nov. 3.	Mrs. Masham.	
	Mrs. Masham.		9.	Abp. of Dublin (3 packets)	
3.	MD. 33		15.	Mr. Secretary St. John.	4s.
7.	Mrs. Long.		17.	Abp. of Dublin.	
17.	MD. 34.		21.	MD. 23.	
	Mr. Lewis.			Mrs. Long.	
Dec. 1.	MD. 35.			Mr. Lewis.	
14.	MD. 36.			Mr. Warburton.	
	Bp. of Clogher.		Dec. 20.	Bp. of Clogher.	
19.	Mrs. Long.			Cousin Deane Swift.	
29.	MD. 37.		27.	MD. 24.	
	Dean of St. Patrick's.			Beaumont.	
1712			1712		
Jan. 8.	Abp. of Dublin.		Jan. 11.	MD. 25.	
12.	MD. 38.		29.	MD. 26.	
19.	Bp. of Clogher.			Bp. of Cloyne. ²	
26.	MD. 39.		31.	Dr. Sacheverell.	
Feb. 1.	Dr. Sacheverell.		Feb. 6.	Patty Rolt.	
9.	MD. 40.		11.	Bp. of Clogher.	
23.	MD. 41.			Mr. Walls.	
28.	Dr. Pratt.		13.	Dr. Pratt.	
	Mr. Harrison.		18.	Bp. of Cloyne.	
Mar. 8.	MD. 42.			Abp. of Dublin.	
	Mr. Harrison.		Mar. 9.	Mr. Harrison.	
	Bp. of Cloyne.			J. B. and a bit from Ppt.	
20.	Ld. Lansdowne.		12.	Bp. of Cloyne.	6d.
22.	MD. 43.		19.	Fetherston.	
	Bp. of Clogher.			Ld. Abercorn.	
29.	Abp. of Dublin.			MD. 27.	
	Cousin Deane Swift.			Bp. of Clogher.	
Apr. 10.	MD. 44.		Apr. 10.	Abp. of Dublin.	
22.	Mrs. Wesley.			Dr. Tisdall.	
25.	MD. 45 (short).			Bp. of Cloyne.	
May 10.	MD. 46 (short).			Mrs. Wesley.	

Appendix I

	TO	FROM	POSTAGE
1712		1712	
	Mrs. V[anhomrigh].	21. MD. 28.	
20.	Abp. of Dublin.	26. Mrs. Wesley.	
	Patty Rolt.	28. Bp. of Clogher.	
24.	Mrs. Wesley.	Dr. Pratt.	6d.
29.	MD. 47.	May 9. MD. 29.	
June 17.	MD. 48.	16. Patty Rolt.	
	Bp. of Clogher.	June 2. Mrs. Wesley.	
26.	Abp. of Dublin.	Mr. Geree.	
July 3.	MD. 49.	13. MD. 30.	
19.	MD. 50.	27. Jo. Beaumont.	
Aug. 7.	MD. 51.	Dr. Raymond.	
Sept. 20.	MD. 52.	July 4. MD. 31.	
Oct. 9.	MD. 53.	29. MD. 32.	
	20. Abp. of Dublin.	Sept. 23. MD. 33.	
	Bp. of Cloyne.	Oct. 22. MD. 34.	
	Duke of Ormond.		
31.	MD. 54.		

I November 1712 to I November 1713

	TO	FROM
1712		1712
Nov. 18.	MD. 55.	Nov. 10. Abp. of Dublin.
Dec. 13.	MD. 56.	Dec. 2. MD. 35.
1713		11. MD. 36.
Jan. 3.	MD. 57.	1713
	8. Abp. of Dublin.	Jan. 23. MD. 37.
23 (about).	MD. 58.	28. Tisdall, etc. 1s. 1d.
Feb. 14.	MD. 59.	Feb. 18 (about). MD. 38.
	28. MD. 60.	Apr. 24. MD. 39.
Mar. 21.	MD. 61.	May 8. Bp. of Dromore.
Apr. 7.	MD. 62.	Dr. Coghill.
	28. MD. 63.	Idem.
May 16.	MD. 64.	Dr. Raymond.
Sept. 1.	MD. 1.	Mr. Walls.
	17. MD. 2.	Bp. of Kildare.
	MD. 3.	Mr. Wo[rra]ll.
Oct. 22.	MD. 4.	Mr. Diaper.
	Abp. of Dublin.	
	Bp. of Clogher.	
	Mr. Walls.	

APPENDIX II

SWIFT'S ACCOUNT BOOKS

Account-Book in the possession of Lord Rothschild, Cat. No. 2258:
 Account / Of Expences / From Nov^{br}. 1st 1703 / to / Nov^{br}. 1st 1704 *and*
 Account of my Livings for / 1703.
 Account-Book in Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Cat. No. 24.C.31:
 Account of Expences from Nov^r. / 1st 1734 to Nov^r. 1st 1735.
 Account-Books in the Forster Collection:

1 Nov. 1702-1 Nov. 1703	Cat. No. 505.
„ 1708- „ 1709	506.
„ 1709- „ 1710	507.
„ 1711- „ 1712	508.
„ 1712- „ 1713	509.
„ 1717- „ 1718	510.
„ 1732- „ 1733	511.
Personal & Cathedral Accounts 1730-42	512.
Cathedral & Charity Money 1738-41	513.

Scott, *Works*, 1814, i, 61 note, gives a page from a missing account-book of 1700-1.

APPENDIX III

INSCRIPTION FOR THE EARL OF BERKELEY'S MONUMENT

The following inscription was written by Swift at the request of Lady Berkeley for the monument erected to her husband. See Robert Nelson's letter to Swift, 14 Feb. 1710-11 (i. 210). A draft of the inscription appears in Swift's hand on the original letter. Add. MS. 4804, f. 44v.

H. S. E.

Carolus Comes de Berkely, Vicecomes de Dursley, Baro Berkeley de castro de Berkeley, Dominus Moubray, Segrave, et Bruce; dominus locumtenens comitatûs Glocestriæ; civitatis Glocestriæ magnus seneschallus: guardianus de forestâ de Dean; custos rotulorum comitatûs de Surrey; et Reginæ Annæ à secretioribus consiliis. Ob fidem spectatam, linguarum peritiam, et prudentiam, à rege Gulielmo III. ablegatus et plenipotentiarius ad ordines fœderati Belgii per quinque annos arduis reipublicæ negotiis fœliciter invigilavit. Ob quæ merita ab eodem rege (vivente adhuc patre) in magnatum numerum adscriptus, et consiliarius

Appendix III

à secretis factus: et ad Hiberniam secundus inter tres summos justiciarios missus. Denique legatus extraordinarius designatus ad Turcarum imperium: et postea, regnante Annâ, ad Cæsarem ablegatus: quæ munia, ingravescente valetudine et senectute, obire nequii. Natus Londini, 1649. Obiit, 1710. Ætatis 62.

APPENDIX IV

SWIFT AND FRANCIS STRATFORD

Swift and Francis Stratford were together at the Grammar School of Kilkenny, a foundation of the Ormonde family. In 1682 they went up together to Trinity College, Dublin (*Alumni Dublinenses*). Later Stratford appears to have gained considerable business and mercantile experience in London and was credited with amassing an estate of £100,000. During the years 1710 to 1713 he and Swift frequently met, and he is often mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*. He became a Director of the South Sea Co.; but in January 1712 he suffered financial collapse, and in the following year he went abroad 'to gather up his debts' (*Journal*, 613).

In the Bodleian Library (MS. Montagu d. 1, at folios 152-3) a document in Swift's hand is preserved which reads as follows:

Nov^{br} 21st 1711

I do hereby empower Mr Benjamin Tooke, to accept of five hundred Pounds Stock in the Corporation erected to carry on a Trade to the South-seas, which was this Day transferred to me by Francis Stratford Esq^r. — — —

Wittness my hand

Jonathan Swift.

An authorization on the verso of the leaf, top left-hand corner, in another hand, reads: Jonaⁿ Swift | to | Ben Tooke for | Acceptance. N^o 335 | £500 —

APPENDIX V

LADY ORKNEY'S CHARACTER OF OXFORD

This character by Lady Orkney and Swift's comment appears in his careful autograph in the Longleat vol. xiii, ff. 45, 46, two octavo leaves. On the verso of the second leaf is written 'The Countess of ——'s Character of L^d Tr——'.

By the Countess of ——

The Character of the Man whom the Queen delighteth to Honor. Ambitious to serve his Country, and yet, knows its Faults.

He never will tear up his own Bowells, from Despair, but will ever act and shew he expects a Blessing from a Superior Power for every wise Action.

He appears to be dilatory not from want of the satisfaction to serve all, but to search out those with the fewest Faults.

Proud onely by disregarding his own Greatness Forgives, and unmindfull if his Enemy repents. He is civil to all, without an ill-judged Respect. Carefull of the publick Money, watchfull to have that managed with Faithfullness.

Concerned for its Honor, proved by weighing how to pay the Debts rather by advancing it's Interest the . . . the whole.

Dutifully advises his Soverain, and if Things go amiss, he would rather have it thought his Mistake or any body's but hers.

He adores God, he submits his Doubts, endeavours to be perfect without presuming to hope for Perfection.

He hates being commended, but must know he deserves it, reflecting his Superiority cannot last without Humility, ever suspecting he may err. Lives without Fear, and will dye with true Honor.

The Lady who drew the above Character (of L^d Treasurer Oxford) is a person of as much good naturall Sense and Judgment as I have ever known, and hath received all the Improvements that Courts and Conversations of Princes and other great Persons could give her. Her Advice hath many years been asked and followed in the most important Affairs of State. Accordingly you see in this Draught of hers an Endeavor at something that is very judicious and uncommon. But her great Misfortune was that in her Education she fell short even of that little share of Reading which belongs to her Sex. So that she has neither Orthography, Grammar, nor choice of proper Words, which last never fails her in Conversation, and in Subjects she is conversant with.

Besides there is a Stiffness and Affectation of something beyond her reach in what she writes . . . I think Ladyes thus qualifed should never

Appendix V

hold a Pen but upon Occasions of perfect Necessity, or that when they do, they should employ some other Hand to correct and putt into English what they have to say.

Jan^{ry} 1st 1712/13.

APPENDIX VI

THE MONTAGU HOUSE LETTERS

In the *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. lxiv, three letters, July–September 1713, written from Northamptonshire to the second Duke of Montagu, who was then abroad, about his estate, were alleged to have been written by Swift. They have also been admitted as genuine by those responsible for the report on the Duke of Buccleuch's manuscripts—see Report of *H.M.C.*, vol. 1, p. 359. At this very time, however, Swift was unquestionably in Ireland; the handwriting is not his; and he was unacquainted with the subject-matter. Elrington Ball prints the letters in Appendix III, pp. 409–13, of his second volume of the correspondence, where, or in the *H.M.C.* volume, the text may be consulted. These letters, however, may be summarily dismissed as in no way related to Swift, and further discussion can be abandoned.

APPENDIX VII

SWIFT'S ILLNESS

On 6 Jan. 1708–9 Swift, writing to Archbishop King, makes the first reference, in his correspondence, to his lifelong complaint, explaining that his delay in reply has been due to 'a cruel distemper, a giddiness in my head, that would not suffer me to write or think of anything, and of which I am now recovering'. At about this same time, and as late as July 1710, we find frequent references in his account-books to giddiness and sickness. See Forster, *Life*, p. 253. These attacks were accompanied by a deafness of the left ear. In a letter to Mrs. Howard (Lady Suffolk), 19 Aug. 1727, he dated his giddiness at his first residence with Temple and his deafness at the second: 'About two hours before you were born, I got my Giddyness by eating a hundred golden pippins at a time, at Richmond, and when you were four years and a quarter old bating two

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days, having made a fine seat about twenty miles farther in Surrey where I used to read and sleep, there I got my Deafness, and these two friends have visited me, one or other, every year since, and being old acquaintance have now thought fit to come together.'

Swift was mistaken in attributing to distinct causes a surfeit of fruit and a cold, the afflictions from which he suffered. They had a common origin in the left ear, a trouble designated Ménière's disease or *labyrinthine vertigo*. As the years passed this malady would have an increasingly depressing physical and mental effect; but the dementia of his last days followed paralysis of the brain, weakened by senile decay.

The nature of Swift's disease has been the subject of lengthy medical study. See Sir William Wilde's *The Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life*, 1849, pp. 6-71; J. C. Bucknill, 'Dean Swift's Disease', in *Brain*, 1882, iv. 493-506; T. G. Wilson, 'Swift's Deafness and his Last Illness', in the *Irish Journal of Medical Science*, June 1939; Sir Russell Brain, 'The Illness of Dean Swift', in the *Irish Journal of Medical Science*, Aug. 1952; T. G. Wilson, 'The Mental and Physical Health of Dean Swift', in *Medical History*, vol. ii, no. 3, July 1958; and J. N. P. Moore, 'Swift's Philanthropy' in *Jonathan Swift A Dublin Tercentenary Tribute*, 1967, pp. 137-56.

APPENDIX VIII

THE REV. JOHN SHOWER AND THE EARL OF OXFORD

In *The Journal to Stella*, 22 Dec. 1711, Swift writes: 'I called at the lord treasurer's at eleven, and staid some time with him. He shewed me a letter from a great presbyterian parson to him, complaining how their friends had betrayed them by passing this *Conformity Bill*; and he shewed me the answer he had written; which his friends would not let him send; but was a very good one.' John Shower, 1657-1715, was pastor of a Presbyterian congregation at Curriers' Hall, London Wall. The letter to Oxford and the reply were first printed by Deane Swift in 1765. In a footnote he affirmed that 'The Answer was written by Dr. Swift, as appears not only from his hand-writing, but particularly from a correction in the original draught'. It is to be noted that the reply, as printed by Deane Swift, is dated 21 Dec. and it was on the 22nd that Swift called on Oxford, who spoke of 'his friends' as objecting to the answer. On the other hand, Deane Swift refers to 'a correction in the original draught', which may at the time have been in Oxford's hands, as providing proof that Swift composed the reply to Shower. Deane Swift could not mistake

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Swift's hand; and, further, the fact that he had the two letters in his possession makes it at least probable that Swift drafted the reply for Oxford.

The Rev. John Shower to the Earl of Oxford

My Lord,

London, Decemb. 20 1711.

Though there be little reason to expect your Lordship should interpose in favour of the Dissenters, who have been so shamefully abandoned, sold, and sacrificed by their professed friends; the attempt is however so glorious, in all its views, tendencies, and prospects, that, if it be not too late, I would most humbly beg your Lordship not to be immoveable as to that matter. The fatal consequences of that bill cannot be expressed: I dread to think of some of them; and shall as much rejoice with many thousands, if you may be instrumental to prevent it. May Heaven direct you in this, and in all your great affairs for the public good of your country. I am, | My honoured Lord, | Your most obedient servant, | John Shower.

The Earl of Oxford to the Rev. John Shower

Reverend Sir,

December 21, 1711.

Had not a very painful distemper confined me, I had desired the favour of seeing you some time since; and I should have spoken very plainly to you, as I shall whenever I see you. I have long foretold, that the Dissenters must be saved whether they will or no; they resist even restraining grace; and would almost convince me, that the notion of man's being a mechanism is true in every part. To see men moved as puppets, with rage for their interest; with envy acting against their own interest, *having men's persons in admiration*: not only those of their own body, who certainly are the first who pretended to consummate wisdom and deep policy, yet have shown that they knew not the common affairs of this nation, but are *dwellers in thick clay*. They are Epicureans in act, Puritans in profession, Politicians in conceit, and a prey and laughing-stock to the Deists and synagogue of the libertines, in whom they have trusted, and to whose infallibility they have sold themselves and their congregations. All they have done or can do, shall never make me their enemy. I pity poor deluded creatures, that have for seventeen years been acting against all their principles, and the liberty of this nation, without leaving so much salt as to keep the body of them sweet. For, there has not been one good bill, during that term of years, which they have not opposed in the House of Commons: contrary to the practice of those very few Dissenters which were in the Parliament in King Charles the Second's time, who thereby united themselves to the country gentlemen, the advantage of which they found for many years after. But now they have

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listed themselves with those, who had first denied our Saviour, and now have sold them.

I have written this only to shew you, that I am ready to do every thing that is practicable, to save people who are bargained for by their leaders, and given up by their ministers: I say, their ministers; because it is averred and represented, that the Dissenting ministers have been consulted, and are consenting to this bill. By what lies and arts they are brought to this, I do not care to mention; but, as to myself, the engineers of this bill thought they had obtained a great advantage against me: finding I had stopped it in the House of Commons, they thought to bring me to a fatal dilemma, whether it did, or did not pass. This would have no influence with me: for I will act what I think to be right, let there be the worst enemies in the world of one side or other. I guess, by your letter, that you do not know that the bill yesterday passed both Houses, the Lords having agreed to the amendments made by the Commons; so that there is no room to do any thing upon that head.

What remains, is to desire, that the Dissenters may seriously think from whence they are fallen, and do their first works,—and recover their reputation of sobriety, integrity, and love of their country, which is the sincere and hearty prayer of, | Reverend Sir, | Your most | faithful, and | most humble servant, | Oxford.

APPENDIX IX

BISHOP KENNETT'S PICTURE OF SWIFT¹

[Windsor Castle]

Sunday. Nov. 1. I preacht agst Popery and Profaneness before her Majestie at Windsor, present Ld Chancell. Ld Treas. Ld President E. of Strafford and many other of the Nobility. Dr Swift who had come down with my Ld Treas. in the coach was in the Chapel, and drew the eyes of

¹ The scene as depicted by Kennett, then Dean of Peterborough, took place when the Court was at Windsor in 1713. It was first printed in part by Johnson in his *Life of Pope*, 1781, then substantially complete by John Nichols, *Swift's Works*, 1801, xix. 21–22, under the heading: '*Extract from the MS. Diary of Bishop KENNET, in the Library of the Marquis of LANSDOWN*'; and reprinted in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, i. 399–400. Kennett's diary, now B.M. Lansdowne MS. 1024, which served largely as copy for his *The Wisdom of Looking Backward*, 1715, contains several disparaging references to Swift; these two entries, on f. 426, were not published.

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many upon him, when I happen'd to mention among other corruptions of the Age, the prevailing foolishness of Wit and Humour so called.

Monday. Nov. 2. Dr. Swift came into the coffeehouse, and had a bow from every body but me, who I confess could not but despise him. When I came to the antechamber to wait before prayers, Dr. Swift was the principal man of talk and business, and acted as a master of requests. He was soliciting the earl of Arran to speak to his brother the duke of Ormond, to get a chaplain's place established in the garrison of Hull for Mr. Fiddes, a clergyman in that neighbourhood, who had lately been in gaol, and published sermons to pay fees. He was promising Mr. Thorold to undertake with my lord treasurer, that, according to his petition, he should obtain a salary of 200^l per ann. to be settled for the minister of the English church at Rotterdam. Then he stopped F[rancis] Gwynne, esq., going in with his red bag to the Queen, and told him aloud that he had somewhat to say to him from my lord treasurer. He talked with the son of Dr. Davenant to be sent abroad, and took out his pocket book and wrote down several things, as *memoranda*, to do for him. He turned to the fire, and took his gold watch, and, telling the time of the day, complained it was very late. A gentleman said 'he was too fast'. 'How can I help it', says the doctor, 'if the courtiers give me a watch that won't go right?' Then he instructed a young nobleman, that the best poet in England was Mr. Pope (a papist), who had begun a translation of Homer into English verse, for which he must have them all subscribe; 'for', says he, 'the author shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him'. My Lord Treasurer [after leaving the Queen] went through the room and beckoning Dr. Swift to follow him, they both went off just before prayers.

APPENDIX X

DR. SWIFT'S BILL¹

The Right Honorable the Lord Treasurer, Debtor to
Doctor Jonathan Swift.

A Ptolomy, best Edition	2	10	0
A pair of Steel Snuffers	0	12	0
A Shakespear the Folio Edition	1	0	0
A Table Book like Your Lordship's	5	0	0
A Bible	1	10	0
For a Dinner I lost by y ^r Lordship's dining abroad	0	2	6
in all	10	14	6

Endorsed by Swift: Doct^r Swift's Bill Sep^{tbr} 8. 1711

¹ Portland MSS., B.M. Loan 29/158.

APPENDIX XI
CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE
INTERCEPTED LETTERS¹

*Archbishop King and the Earl of Kildare to
Mr. Secretary Stanhope*

Dublin Castle, May 19, 1715.

Sir,

We presume you have received our last of the 10th instant. This morning one Mr. Jeffreys, a gentleman who is agent to the Bishop of Derry, arrived here from England. An officer belonging to the Custom House searching his trunks and pockets as usual to see if he brought over any prohibited goods, found about him two packets directed to Dr. Swift, which considering the present circumstances of affairs, he thought proper to carry to the Commissioners, who immediately brought them to us. One of them contained nothing but the enclosed pamphlet entitled, *The Conduct, etc.*, which we judged convenient to transmit to you, not knowing whether or no it may be yet published in England. The other packet, together with several libels, such as *English Advice to the Freeholders*;² *a Defence of the King against what is commonly called his Speech*; *Sir William Wyndham's Case*, and the *Ballad on the late Lord Wharton*, had in it the two enclosed letters which we thought proper to convey to you by a packet-boat sent on purpose; conceiving it might be of no small importance to his Majesty's service could the last instructions to the Lord Bolingbroke mentioned in one of these letters be intercepted.

We are further to inform you that Mr. Jeffreys being examined upon oath, declares that he received the above mentioned packets from Mr. Charleton, chaplain to the Duchess of Ormond, by whom he was desired to deliver them carefully into the Dean of St. Patrick's own hands.

Upon searching Mr. Jeffrey's portmanteau we found several other letters directed to persons here, of a seditious nature, but which we do not think material enough to trouble you with a particular account of. We are, Sir,

Your most humble Servants,
Will. Dublin.
Kildare.

To Mr. Stanhope.

Endorsed: From the Lords Justices.

¹ State Papers relating to Ireland in P.R.O.

² For the discovery of the author of this pamphlet, which it has been suggested was written by Bishop Atterbury, a reward of £1,000 was offered by the Government.

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*Eustace Budgell to the Earl of Sunderland*¹

Dublin, May 19, 1715.

Yesterday morning² Mr. Jeffreys, agent to the Bishop of Derry, arrived here from London. A custom-house officer searching his trunks found two packets directed to Dr. Swift; one of them only contained a book entitled, *The Conduct of the Duke of Ormonde*; the other, together with several libels such as *English Advice*, *Sir W. Wyndham's Case*, the *Ballad on the late Lord Wharton*, etc., had in it two letters which the Lords Justices thought proper to send the same night to Mr. Stanhope, and of which I send copies.

*Archbishop King to Bishop Ashe*³

Dublin, May 23, 1715.

... Two days ago one Mr. Jeffreys being searched as he landed at Ringsend, several letters and packets were seized on him and brought to the Custom House, and by the Commissioners sent to the [Lords] Justices. Two were directed to the Dean of St. Patrick's, in which were several treasonable or seditious pamphlets, such as the *English Advice to the Freeholders*, etc., a *Defence of the King against a Speech*, etc., the *Impartiality of the Parliament in Sir William Wyndham's Case*, etc., with several letters neither directed nor subscribed, but plainly meant for the Dean. They contained very bad matter. Mr. Jeffreys swears they were given to him by Mr. Charleton, chaplain to the Duchess of Ormond, and that he received the packets sealed from Mr. Charleton and knew not what was in them.

These and several other letters represent Jeffreys as an ingenious man, that they durst not write their minds, but he knew *arcana imperii*—I use their words—and could inform them of everything, that these were iniquitous times, and that there was no place for honest men—that the Pretender's men increase daily by the ill-usage of such men. They complain that the Dean did not write to them, and look on that as a forbidding them to write to him, which they greatly regret. I am of opinion they will have very little thanks from him for their unseasonable kindness. Amongst other pamphlets there is one entitled *the Conduct of the Duke of Ormond*. I had not time to read it, nor was I desirous to do it, since it had no name to it. It is wrote in his Grace's favour, and hath many orders sent him

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Rept. 8, App., pt. i, p. 58. It was in this letter that the copies from which the intercepted letters have been printed were enclosed. Budgell was then the permanent secretary in Dublin Castle, the office previously held by Joshua Dawson.

² This letter, although dated the 19th, was not dispatched until the 20th.

³ In King's Correspondence.

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about the cessation. If I understand them right, they may magnify his obedience, but I did not see how they justified his conduct.

This Jeffreys seemed to me to be an agent sent over to manage for the party here. He was bound over to the good behaviour, and we sent some of the letters to the Secretary there. . . .

*Archbishop King to Edward Southwell*¹

Dublin, May 23, 1715.

. . . Mr. Jeffreys declared that he had them [the letters] all sealed up from Mr. Arthur Charleton, chaplain to my Lady Duchess of Ormond, which cleared him, though the letters intimated that he knew *arcana imperii*, and could inform them of such things as were not safe for them to write, and some suspected from the letters that he came over as an agent for a party, but I believe nothing of it;² yet this suspicion bound him to his good behaviour, but being the lawyer's business I have nothing to say to it. There were two letters of the Bishop of Derry that were not very prudent I confess, but there being nothing directly against his Majesty we ordered them to be restored. . . .

*Christopher Delafaye to Archbishop King*³

Bath, May 25, 1715.

My Lord,

I received yesterday a letter from Mr. Manley giving an account of the seizing of a parcel of treasonable papers with one Jeffreys directed to Dr. Swift. I acquainted my Lord Lieutenant with it, who was very well pleased with this fresh instance of your Grace's zeal and diligence in the King's service, which cannot fail of being highly acceptable to his Majesty. His Excellency commanded me to give you his thanks for it; and he hopes that if there appears enough against the Doctor to justify it he is kept in confinement, and Mr. Haughton also,⁴ but how far that may be justifiable your Grace is best able to judge; I presume they are at least held to very good and sufficient bail. If anything can add to your Grace's character, this application to the public service will undoubtedly heighten

¹ In King's Correspondence.

² It will be observed that in the preceding letter the Archbishop expresses an absolutely contrary opinion. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the fact that Ashe was a Whig and Southwell was a Tory.

³ Hist. MSS. Com., Rept. 2, App. xix, p. 234.

⁴ A few days before Jeffreys landed, letters addressed to Haughton, who was Controller of the Ordnance, and a kinsman of Francis Annesley, had been intercepted.

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it in the esteem of all good men, which, like all other things that may happen to your advantage, will give a peculiar satisfaction to, my Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful and most obedient humble servant,

Ch. Delafaye.

My Lord Lieutenant's health is improving.

*Archbishop King to Christopher Delafaye*¹

Dublin, June 4, 1715.

. . . The letters directed to Dean Swift we sent to England with an examination where they were found. They could affect none here because not delivered to them, and they seemed to acquit the Dean by complaining of his not writing, which they interpreted as a forbidding them to write. Mr. Jeffreys told us on oath from whom he had them, and that he knew not what was in the packet. The utmost could be done to him was to bind him over on suspicion as the lawyers told us. . . .²

APPENDIX XII

A DISPATCH CONCERNING DUBLIN PARISHES

Swift, writing to Archdeacon Walls, 18 June 1716 (see ii. 207), refers to the haste with which he has been writing dispatches and 'over a dozen letters'. It may be surmised that one of the dispatches is a stray entry in Swift's hand preserved in the Longleat vol. xiii, f. 41.

Dr. Travers's Parish is to be divided³ in to three—

The old Church of S^t Andrew; two new Churches to be built.

The old Church will be about 300¹¹ per Ann; the New ones each, 150¹¹ per ann

Two of the three Churches will be vacant upon Promotion

The Ld Chancell-ship of Christchurch and a Prebend of S^t Patrick's will be vacant on Dr Travers's Promotion likewise.

The former is a sine-cure worth 120¹¹ per ann, the latter not above 30¹¹

¹ In King's Correspondence.

² In England by 9 Anne (1710), c. 20, sect. xl, the opening of letters could be authorized by an express warrant in writing under the hand of one of the principal Secretaries of State. How far this was observed in Ireland is doubtful:

³ The Rev. John Travers and his parish engaged Swift's thoughts in 1713/14, see G. P. Mayhew, 'Swift's "Prefermts of Ireland"', *H.L.Q.* xxx (1967), 298; but Travers retained his cure until his death on 17 Sept. 1727 (Boulter's *Letters*, 1770, 160), after which the division took place.

APPENDIX XIII

THE SWIFT-CHETWODE CORRESPONDENCE

In the Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, we find preserved, No. 598 (48. E. 26), a lengthy correspondence, 1858-71, between Forster and Edward Wilmot Chetwode, concerning the Swift-Knightley Chetwode letters, originally in safe keeping at Woodbrooke, Portarlington, Queen's County, Ireland. On 23 July 1855 Edward Chetwode wrote from Torquay to Forster to explain that the letters were in a chest at Woodbrooke, but he would see if he could secure their dispatch thence. In October he wrote again to Forster, who had reminded him of his promise, that he had some thought of editing the letters himself, but very likely never would. On 27 Nov. 1856 he forwarded a transcript of them to Forster, and of some copies of Chetwode's letters to Swift. Further letters passed in 1857-8. In Dec. 1859 Chetwode, writing from Woodbrooke, stated that he had been looking over old papers, anxious apparently to avoid all mention of Swift. Still further letters produced no results. In 1864 Forster, who was then in Dublin, was urged to pay a visit to Woodbrooke. The correspondence closed with a letter of 29 Dec. 1871. Chetwode then wrote to confess that 'Dean Swift's letters are gone'. They had been stowed away 'in a vault under my study' where the damp had destroyed them. His son, still in Ireland, had written to say that 'Swift's letters were absolutely *illegible* to him. I think he will have their decayed remnants brought over tho . . . certainly in a hopeless state'. The only comfort he could take was that a transcript was in Forster's possession and with him it must rest to collate the transcript with surviving remains of the originals.

In spite of this tragic disappointment Forster could in the preface (p. x) to his *Life of Jonathan Swift* recall happily his association with Edward Wilmot Chetwode. 'His rare talents and taste suffered from his delicate health and fastidious temperament, but in my life I have seen few things more delightful than his pride in the connection of his race and name with the companionship of Swift. Such was the jealous care with which he preserved the letters, treasuring them as an heirloom of honour, that he would never allow them to be moved from his family seat; and when with his own hand he had made a careful transcript of them for me, I had to visit him at Woodbrooke to collate his copy with the originals.' The date of this visit is not stated.

A note by R. F. Sketchley on these transcripts in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Forster No. 554 (48 D. 37 and 38), reads: 'This and the Companion Volume contain the correspondence between

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Swift and Knightley Chetwood or Chetwode. The letters range from 1714 to 1731, a few are undated, and the volumes are paged 1-60; 1-57. The letters are copies of the originals which have I believe perished.' The number of letters in the two volumes of Forster transcripts amounts to sixty-seven.

Meanwhile, however, another transcript of the correspondence came into being, also in two volumes, containing fifty-eight letters. These transcripts, which remained in the possession of the Chetwode family at Woodbrooke, betray two hands at least. The transcripts were used for the first appearance of the correspondence in print. In 1897, over his name and with some annotation, George Birkbeck Hill brought out fifty-four of the letters in four issues, August, September, November, and December of a well-known American periodical, the *Atlantic Monthly*. In 1899 this material was used again by him in his *Unpublished Letters of Dean Swift*, published in London by Fisher Unwin.

Forster claimed for the transcripts now preserved at South Kensington a degree of accuracy superior to the work of rival transcribers. On the other hand, it is to be recognized that the Woodbrooke transcripts bear evidence of an attempt to approximate in spelling, the use of capital letters, abbreviations, and punctuation to Swift's practice in his autograph letters. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the reader of the originals in this instance is not always to be trusted. His, or her, mistakes are apparent. The Forster transcripts are more careful and appear to have been scanned by Forster himself. Elrington Ball's reliance on the Forster transcripts may be accepted. The text, however, as printed by Ball, has been, as is his practice, normalized; and it will be wise in these letters to follow his conventionalized text. Conjectural alterations are to be deprecated save where obvious misreadings appear.

APPENDIX XIV

STELLA AND HER HISTORY

Esther Johnson (Stella) was baptized on 20 Mar. 1680-1 in the parish church of Richmond in the county of Surrey. According to the record in the register her baptismal name was Hester, although she appears commonly to have used Esther, and it was thus that she signed her will.¹ But the tablet to her memory in St. Patrick's Cathedral shows that Hester was known to be her rightful designation. Her father was Edward Johnson,

¹ See Wilde, *Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life*, p. 101.

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who lived in or near Richmond, and in the church register the paternity of two more children is attributed to him. The first, on 12 Aug. 1683, was Stella's sister Anne; the second, on 8 July 1688, was a boy called Edward. According to a manuscript genealogy in a copy of Deane Swift's *Essay*, 1755, in the possession of Lord Rothschild, Edward 'died young abroad'. Swift says of Stella's father and mother that he was a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamshire, and that the mother was of 'a lower degree'.¹ Lord Orrery's statement that Stella's father was steward to Sir William Temple² may be discounted. His information upon minor detail is not safely to be trusted. Mrs. Johnson's second husband was in fact Temple's steward.

Long after Stella's death and twelve years after that of Swift a story³ was circulated that she was Temple's daughter. The story was supported by her alleged resemblance to Temple and the substantial legacy he bequeathed to her. As has been shown in Dr. Mangan's Appendix VII to my edition of the *Journal to Stella* 'the uncertain light of tradition', and the absence of identity between alleged portraits, leaves us in doubt whether any one of those attributed to Stella can be accepted as authentic. Further, the date of Stella's birth introduces a doubt whether paternity can be attributed to Temple. The Temple MSS., which came into the possession of the Longe family of Spixworth Park, have been sifted over by Julia Longe and Professor G. C. Moore Smith, and by others. Nothing has been found in these manuscripts to support a belief that Stella was a natural daughter of Temple.

It is uncertain when Swift first met Stella. His references to her age and to dates in her life are generally inaccurate. Writing of her to Worrall, 15 July 1726, he says: 'We have been perfect friends these thirty-five years'; and on the 20th of the same month, writing to Stopford, he places the duration of their friendship at thirty-three years. This would make 1691, or 1693, the date of their first meeting; but it is almost certain they met when Swift first went to reside with Temple in the spring of 1689. It appears that in her early years Stella did not enjoy good health. Swift tells us that, 'She was sickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen; but then grew into perfect health'.⁴

Little is known about Stella's life at Moor Park. A cottage in the grounds is named after her; but Swift is also said to have occupied it. A room at the head of the stairs in the house is now, with more likelihood, indicated as that used by him. Stella's position in the household was

¹ *Prose Works*, Temple Scott, xi. 127.

² *Remarks*, p. 22.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, No. 1757, vol. xxvii. The article is signed C. M. P. G. N. S. T. N. S. According to Nichols, *Lit. Illustr.* v. 380 n., the letter 'was probably communicated by Dr. Hawkesworth'.

⁴ *Prose Works*, xi. 127.

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doubtless comparatively humble. We can gather from allusions in the *Journal to Stella* that Swift acted as her writing master. Harley, who had seen at a coffee-house a letter addressed to Swift by Stella, was led to ask him how long 'he had learnt the trick of writing to himself'; and Deane Swift says that '*Stella's* hand had a great deal of the air of the doctor's'.¹ The resemblance is not at all close, but a mistake might be made in reading the larger hand of an address to a letter.

Stella remained at Moor Park until Temple's death, 27 Jan. 1699, and either there or at Farnham for over two years more.

At his death Temple bequeathed to Stella 'a lease of some lands I have in Morristown, in the county of Wicklow in Ireland', and Swift tells us that at this time her fortune 'was in all not above fifteen hundred pounds'. Her income was increased later by investment of savings, and, possibly, by changes in the distribution of her capital. She possessed property at Trim; and Lady Giffard held £400 for Stella upon which an annuity was regularly paid.

On Swift's advice Stella and Rebecca Dingley moved to Ireland, where their slender resources would serve to better purpose than in England. The exact date of their removal is in doubt, but Stella is stated to have been about nineteen years old, which would show that she came to the country in 1700 or 1701. The two ladies, when they first came to Ireland, lodged in William Street, then newly built on the outskirts of Dublin. Later they moved to rooms near Capel Street let by a Mrs. De Caudres. Other lodgings were in use later. In the country Stella may have occupied a cottage at Laracor which has been associated with her name. Not far away at Trim the ladies were in the habit of staying with Archdeacon and Mrs. Walls; and, in course of time, with other friends of Swift.

We have no certain evidence that Stella and Rebecca Dingley, after taking up their residence in Ireland, paid more than one visit to England, and this in 1708. Deane Swift says that in 1705 Stella spent five or six months in England, 'but never crossed the channel afterwards to the end of her days'. It is probable that he was right in counting one visit only and mistaken in the year. In a letter to Sheridan, 29 Aug. 1727, the duration of Stella's residence in Ireland is given as twenty-four years. Like many of Swift's recordings of date this cannot be accurate and must be shorter than the true time. There is good reason to believe that she came to Ireland, as stated above, not later than 1701. In August 1727 she must, even allowing for one visit to England of five or six months, have lived in Ireland for twenty-six years, or nearly that length of time; and at her death on the evening of Sunday, 28 Jan. 1728, about twenty-seven years.

We can understand that Stella and her companion would feel themselves ill at ease at first in the unaccustomed surroundings of Dublin;

¹ *Journal*, p. 183 n.

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and, further, it was only to be expected that the curious and unexplained relationship between a clergyman beneficed in the country and two ladies newly come from England should excite gossip. As Swift admits, people suspected 'a secret history in such a removal' although he avers that Stella's 'excellent conduct' soon checked the scandal mongers.¹ In this belief Swift was over-sanguine. For example, the opening paragraph of a kindly letter from Archbishop King, 5 Aug. 1713, can only be explained as a hint that Swift's marriage was to be expected. Nevertheless, within the circle of his acquaintance and among those with whom he came into contact officially Swift undoubtedly gained acceptance of his relations with Stella and the discreet arrangements which governed their long and intimate friendship. Further, he had always been able to assume respect, recognition, and detachment above the station to which he had been born.

Deane Swift would lead us to believe that during her early years in Ireland Stella lived a retired life with Rebecca Dingley, seeing very little general company, and that only when Swift had established himself in the deanery did the ladies visit abroad. This statement is certainly misleading. In the years preceding Swift's installation as Dean there are many references in his letters, and in the *Journal*, to Stella's love of card-playing and to social evenings spent with friends and acquaintances in Dublin.

Swift arrived in Dublin for his installation as Dean of St. Patrick's on the evening of 10 June 1713 after an easy and rapid passage from Holyhead. It is doubtful whether at the time Stella was in Dublin or Trim; but she stayed apparently at the latter place while he was at Laracor, to which he proceeded on 25 June after his installation. In August Swift returned to Dublin for the christening of Archdeacon Walls's child. The two ladies apparently accompanied him to Dublin, and doubtless saw him off when he set sail on Saturday the 29th of that month on his way back to London.

We know comparatively little of the remaining years of Stella's life. After Swift's return to England, following the installation, Stella left Dublin for Trim. During the next year she and Rebecca Dingley were entertained by Walls and his wife in Queen Street, Dublin, who welcomed them also on later occasions. Indeed we find Stella living with the Walls from time to time till late in her life. Occasional visits to other friends can also be traced.

An interesting practice appears to have begun in 1719, or possibly earlier—the address of birthday verses by Swift to Stella. The first of the birthday poems belongs to 13 Mar. 1719. Any earlier birthday verses, if written, have been lost. In this year Stella would be thirty-eight, and as a poem belonging to the following year comments:

¹ *Prose Works*, xi. 128.

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Thou, Stella, wert no longer young,
When first for thee my Harp I strung

we may reasonably conclude that all the birthday poems have survived. Furthermore, poems are in several instances addressed to her, 1723 (two), 1724, 1725, not on the subject of her birthday.¹ In passing, it may be remarked that three of the birthday poems were transcribed by Stella into her manuscript volume. Three poems have been attributed to Stella herself, one directed to Swift, 30 Nov. 1721.²

Until 1722 Stella appears to have enjoyed good health. She was, for example, able to take a fair amount of riding exercise. But in the following year a change had set in. Writing to Thomas Wallis, 12 Feb. 1722-3, Swift remarks: 'The ladies are as usually; Mrs. Johnson eats an ounce a week, which frights me from dining with her.' It may be, as Ball suggests, that the illness from which she died five years later had set in. Two months later than Swift's hint that Stella was failing in health came the death of Vanessa. The gossip following thereupon, and the wound in her realization that for years a rival had been seeking more than a friendly association with Swift, must have further affected her health. Visits to kind friends in the country, to Charles Ford at Wood Park, to Sheridan at Quilca, served in some degree to alleviate her failing strength.³ During his lengthy visits to England in 1726 and 1727 Swift, especially in the latter year, was in constant anxiety, fearing that he might never see her again. His oppression of spirit is revealed in letters to Sheridan, upon whom especially he relied at this time for loving care of the sinking spirit. It may here be appropriate to quote some verses in Sheridan's hand⁴ presented to Stella about seven months before her death.

The humble Petition of Stella's Friends

Poor Stella hourly is perplext
Betwixt this World here and the next;
Her Friends imploring her to stay,
And Angels beck'ning her away.
Behold the Balance in Suspence!
She's unresolv'd for Here, or Hence.
Ah let our Friendship turn the Scale,
Let Friendship over Heav'n prevail,
'Till you have liv'd what Time is due,
And then we'll all expire with you.

¹ See *Swift's Poems*, pp. 720-66. The last of the birthday lines, tender and beautiful, were written within less than a year of her death on 28 Jan. 1728.

² *Poems*, p. 737.

³ *Poems*, pp. 744-59.

⁴ B.M., Add. MS. 5017*, item 2.

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Signed by the following Persons

Mary Worrall

Jon: Worrall

Pat: Delany

Re. Dingley

Thomas Sheridan

On the verso of the second leaf Sheridan has written an endorsement: 'The Humble Petition | of Stella's friends | written June the | eleventh—1727.'

APPENDIX XV

VANESSA AND HER CORRESPONDENCE WITH SWIFT

Esther Vanhomrigh was born towards the end of 1687 or the beginning of 1688. Her father, Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, was of Dutch extraction. He settled in Dublin, adopted a mercantile following, and married Hester Stone, daughter of a commissioner of the Irish revenue. He gained success in business and in social position, being elected a city alderman. During the Revolution he left Ireland, but returned as Commissary-General to the forces; and, after the campaign, resuming his position in Dublin, he was in 1697 nominated Lord Mayor. He died 29 Dec. 1703, leaving his widow, two daughters, Esther and Mary, and two sons, Bartholomew and Ginkell, in comfortable circumstances.

In Dec. 1707, after the business of the estate had been settled, Mrs. Vanhomrigh, in the hope of social advancement, moved with her family to London. Swift may have met Mrs. Vanhomrigh in Ireland. He was certainly an early London acquaintance and he soon became a frequent visitor at the house. It is clear that from the first Esther was a chief attraction; and when he left London in 1709 they were already on corresponding terms. In August and September 1712 we come upon the earliest portion of the correspondence between Swift and Vanessa which has been preserved to us. In July he went to Windsor. There are six letters, four written by Swift and two by Vanessa during August and September, although evidence available to us shows that at least eleven letters must have passed between them at this time. The correspondence broke off for a time when Swift returned from Windsor to London. It was resumed in May of the following year, 1713, when he set out for Ireland to be installed as Dean of St. Patrick's. Between May and July there are three letters from Swift, one addressed to Mrs. Vanhomrigh,

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and four from Vanessa. In her fourth letter Vanessa has passed beyond her earlier correspondence; she has become the woman passionately anxious to win a response from the man she loves. She is hurt that he does not write. And then comes a sentence most naturally to be interpreted as a jealous suspicion that Stella was the reason of his silence: 'If you are very happy it is ill-natured of you not to tell me so, except 'tis what is inconsistent with mine.' Swift's reply must have caused her the deepest pain: 'I told you when I left England, I would endeavour to forget everything there, and would write as seldom as I could.' For the most part he speaks only of his health and the small events of Laracor and Trim.

Here again we reach a gap in the correspondence. Despairing of the political situation, Swift retired in the summer of 1714 to stay with his friend, the Rev. John Gere, at his living of Letcombe Bassett in Berkshire. From Letcombe Swift wrote to Vanessa four letters, June, July, and August, and he acknowledges the receipt of three letters from Vanessa, who was engaged in trying to clear up the embarrassing affairs of her mother, who had died before this time. Now again we come to a gap in the correspondence. On Monday, 16 Aug., Swift left Letcombe to return to Ireland, where he was to remain for twelve years till he saw England again. Before the end of the same year Vanessa had followed him to Dublin.

The further relationship of Swift and Vanessa to the time of her death, less than nine years later, will emerge most naturally in the succeeding correspondence between the two and the related annotation to the letters. Here it will be well to discuss the text and sequence of a correspondence which in all, from the first, covers an interchange of forty-five letters which were printed completely and in full for the first time by A. Martin Freeman in *Vanessa and her Correspondence with Jonathan Swift*, 1921. The earliest printing of any part of the correspondence was in the appendix to Hawkesworth's edition of Swift's letters, 1766. Only eighteen letters were collected and they were not all complete. Personal allusions and references to friends are omitted, which may, as Ball suggests, be due to limitations imposed by Robert Marshall, one of Vanessa's executors, in whose lifetime Hawkesworth's volumes appeared. These same eighteen letters, following Hawkesworth's text, appear in Nichols's *Works*, 1801, vols. xi and xii. Scott, in his edition of the *Works*, 1814, printed in his vol. xvi, pp. 73, 141, 202, 224, four of the letters without comment beyond adopting a Hawkesworth footnote. In his nineteenth volume these four letters were repeated by Scott as part of his Swift-Vanhomrigh section, pp. 391-457, where we have for the first time almost the whole correspondence printed. This part of the volume is provided with a lengthy foreword in which Scott explains whence he derived the text of

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the letters. 'The originals of the letters are said to have been destroyed by Bishop Berkeley; but Judge Marshall, the other executor, preserved copies, from which several extracts have, at different times, found their way to the public. The following transcript was made some years since, by my learned and most obliging friend, the Reverend Mr. [Edward] Berwick, of Esher, near Leixlip . . . the internal evidence, and the high character of Mr. Berwick, are a sufficient warrant of the authenticity of these letters; although the editor is unable to state in whose hands the original copy of Marshall is now to be found.' The want of dates, as Scott admits, rendered the true chronological position of some of the letters difficult to assess. Ball, in reliance on Scott for his text, has, nevertheless, made some rearrangement, and, further, in his vols. ii and iii he has placed nine letters in supplements. Although a difficulty remains, it is now possible to arrange the letters, with little doubt, in a complete and true sequence.

Scott admitted that he was unable to state where the 'original copy' used by Berwick was to be found. It seems unlikely, from internal evidence, that he used a manuscript volume which became part of the Morrison collection and was subsequently secured by the British Museum at Sotheby's sale on 6 May 1919. It now constitutes Add. MS. 39839. The story and text of the Swift-Vanessa correspondence assumed a new clarity and distinction as edited by Martin Freeman in the volume to which reference has already been made. At some period of its history the manuscript had been bound in brown calf. This binding is now mounted in a British Museum binding. The original had in the centre a coat of arms, which, however, had suffered erasure. Where the manuscript had lain since it passed after Vanessa's death into the hands of her executors, as may be presumed, is not known. It may during part of the nineteenth century have been at Castle Leslie, Glaslough. Among the leaves, when the book was acquired, an envelope was found, postmarked 'Ja. 2. 92', and addressed to 'Miss Leslie, Glaslough, C. Monaghan, Ireland'. On the first leaf is the following inscription in what appears to be an eighteenth-century hand:

Original Letters of Dr. Jonathan Swift Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, to Mrs. Van Homrigh celebrated by him in his published Works under the name of Vanessa.

With the foul copies of her Letters and Answers, in her own hand Writing!

This inscription states the two salient features of the collection. Swift's letters are the originals as received by Vanessa; her letters to him are hasty copies, frequently careless drafts, of the letters she sent by post or messenger.

The letters have been more than once endorsed. The important endorse-

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ments are in Vanessa's hand. These endorsements are a numbering of the letters. They are of the greatest value in two respects. They show, as Freeman states, not only the care with which Vanessa in earlier years docketed and filed her correspondence, but they afford evidence of the number of letters originally belonging to each period; and they help us to assign an approximate date to undated letters. It is possible now, as Freeman has shown, to present a more accurate chronological sequence than did Scott or Ball. As printed in this work all the letters have been placed in a sequence to each other which the editor believes may be accepted. In this and other respects he desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the work of Freeman. Further explanation and commentary may be reserved for footnotes to the text of the letters.

APPENDIX XVI

TWO LETTERS FROM ERASMUS LEWIS TO VANESSA

National Library of Ireland

London, July 7. 1719.

Madam,¹

I have bought you a ticket in the Lottery according to your directions, the number is six hundred & thirty seven, and the price three pound one shilling. I begin my journey to the north too morrow, and your servant may if you think fit leave the money with Mr Horne a Goldsmith over against the New Exchange. I propose to be here again by Michaelmas. it will then be time eno' to carry the ticket to the Office, in case it be a prize, and as all the benefits will be publish'd, you may be attentive to the success.

I am very sorry you have so much trouble with Mr Partinton, things of a more intricate nature, and more extensive might sure have been determin'd in a shorter time. can't you compound it, for in my opinion nothing is worth so much trouble. your removal into this Countrey of w^{ch} you have so often given me hopes, would have at least one good effect, that it would make you forget the disagreeable scene of Ireland & Law.

¹ These two letters have not previously appeared in print.

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my services to miss molly. I wish you both all happiness & am Y^r most obed^t & most humble Servant. E. Lewis.

Address: To M^{rs} Esther Vanhomrigh at M^r Francis Wakefields | in Turn stile Alley near | College Green | Dublin.

Postmark: 7/IV

Madam.

London. Apr. 6. 1721.

There came a man to me yesterday with a Letter w^{ch} he said he had received from one Klinckskels at Droitwich in Worcestershire, desiring him to call to me for the ten pound, but as I knew neither the hand writing of Klinckskels nor the man who had the Letter, And that you had given me particular charge to be very carefull that I paid it to the right person, I refus'd to doe it, till he brought me a Letter from you. and that I would pay it to any person who brought me a letter under your hand. If you think the other way safe tis' all one to me provided you are satisfied.

What doe you intend to do with your pictures, they are really damagd & it is not in my power to prevent it, last week thay had like to have been burnd, for there was a fire next door to me. I am, Madam | y^r most obed^t | & most humble servant. | E. Lewis.

Address: To M^{rs} Vanhomrigh | at Mr Wakefields | in turn stile Alley near | College Green Dublin | Ireland.

Postmark: 6/AP

APPENDIX XVII

REBECCA DINGLEY

Elrington Ball surmised that Stella's lifelong companion, Rebecca Dingley, was connected with the Temples through the Hammonds. The exact relationship was first traced by Margaret Toynbee in *Notes and Queries*, cxcviii. 478–83, Nov. 1953. Charles, third son of Sir John Dingley (c. 1588–1670) of the Isle of Wight, married his first cousin, Elizabeth Hammond of London, 3 Oct. 1659, by whom he had nine children. The first legatee named in his will was 'my Daughter Rebecca', who receives an annuity of £14. Her *exact* age is in some doubt. She was certainly older than Stella, perhaps by as much as fifteen years according to Deane Swift (*Essay*, 1755, p. 86), which would place her birth in 1666. She had, according again to Deane Swift, a small annuity of £27, which, if a fact, may indicate a subsequent increase in the previous annuity of £14 left to her in her father's will. Further, Swift is said (see p. 54 and n. 2,

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above) to have paid her an annuity of fifty guineas by quarterly instalments, punctually taking a receipt on the pretence that the money was drawn from funds invested for her.

Sheridan (*Life*, p. 306) draws an unattractive character-sketch of Rebecca Dingley, dismissing her as 'far from meriting any share in Swift's esteem or affection. She was merely one of the common run of women, of a middling understanding, without knowledge or taste; and so entirely selfish, as to be incapable of any sincere friendship, or warm attachment.' If, however, we weigh all that is said of her companionship with Stella during their association in Ireland, and her reception by their common circle of friends, it is difficult to believe that she was without redeeming qualities. For the poems addressed to her by Swift, see *Poems*, 752-63.

Rebecca Dingley survived Stella by more than fifteen years, dying in 1743. She appointed the Rev. John Lyon executor of her will, leaving to him all her money, plate, books, and papers. Her will was dated 25 Aug. 1739. To her 'dear brother Robert Dingley' she bequeathed her watch and chain; to her maid, Isabella Martin, her clothes and cabinet with its contents; and to Mrs. Anne Ridgeway the remainder of her fortune. The will was proved 22 July 1743.

APPENDIX XVIII

DRAFT OF LETTER: SWIFT TO LORD CARTERET

*To his Excellency the Lord CARTERET, Lord Lieutenant
of IRELAND*

My Lord,

September 3d, 1724.

Being ten years older than when I had the honour to see your Excellency last, by consequence, if I am subject to any ailments, they are now ten times worse, and so it happened. For I have been, this month past, so pestered with the return of a noise and deafness in my ears, that I had not spirit to perform the common offices of life, much less to write to your Excellency, and least of all to answer so obliging and condescending a letter as that I received from you. But these ugly ten years have a worse consequence; that they utterly destroy any title to the good opinion you are pleased to express of me, as an amuser of the world and myself. To have preserved that talent, I ought, as I grew older, to have removed into a better climate, instead of being sunk for life in a worse. I imagine France would be proper for me now, and Italy ten years hence. However,

Appendix XVIII

I am not so bad as they would make me: For, since I left England, such a parcel of trash has been there fathered upon me, that nothing but the good judgment of my friends could hinder them from thinking me to be grown the greatest dunce alive.

There is a gentleman of this kingdom just gone for England; it is Doctor George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, the best preferment among us, being worth about 1100*l.* a year. He takes the Bath in his way to London; and will, of course, attend your Excellency and be presented, I suppose, by his friend my Lord Burlington. And, because I believe you will chuse out some very idle minutes to read this letter, perhaps you may not be ill entertained with some account of the man, and his errand. He was a Fellow in the University here; and, going to England very young, about thirteen years ago, he became the founder of a sect there called the *Immaterialists*, by the force of a very curious book upon that subject. Doctor Smalridge, and many other eminent persons were his proselytes. I sent him secretary and chaplain to Sicily, with my Lord Peterborow; and, upon his Lordship's return, Doctor Berkeley spent above seven years in travelling over most parts of Europe, but chiefly through every corner of Italy, Sicily, and other islands. When he came back to England, he found so many friends that he was effectually recommended to the Duke of Grafton, by whom he was lately made Dean of Derry. Your Excellency will be frighted, when I tell you all this is but an introduction: For I am now to mention his errand. He is an absolute philosopher, with regard to money, titles, and power; and, for three years past, hath been struck with a notion of founding an university at Bermudas, by a charter from the Crown. He hath seduced several of the hopefulest young clergyman and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way of preferment: But, in England his conquests are greater; and, I doubt, will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract, which he designs to publish; and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical, (I shall make you remember what you were) of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries; where he, most exorbitantly, proposeth a whole hundred pounds for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break if his deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible, and a vision; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I do humbly entreat your Excellency either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom, for learning and virtue, quiet at home, or assist him, by your credit, to compass his romantic design; which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage.

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I must now, in all humility, intreat one favour of you, as you are Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Proby, surgeon of the army here, laid out the greatest part of his fortune to buy a captainship for his eldest son. The young man was lately accused of discovering an inclination to Popery, while he was quartered in Galway. The report of the court-martial is transmitted to your Excellency. The universal opinion here is, that the accusation was false and malicious: And the Archbishop of Tuam, in whose diocese Galway is, upon a strict enquiry, hath declared it to be so. But all this is not to sway with your Excellency, any more than that the father is the most universally beloved of any man I ever knew in his station. But I intreat, that you will please to hear the opinion of others, who may speak in his favour; and, perhaps, will tell you, that, as party is not in the case, so you cannot do any personal thing more acceptable to the people of Ireland, than in inclining towards lenity to Mr. Proby and his family; although I have reason to be confident, that they neither need nor desire more than justice. I beg your Excellency will remember my request to be only that you would hear others, and not think me so very weak, as to imagine I could have hopes of giving the least turn to your mind. Therefore I hope, what I have said is pardonable in every respect, but that of taking up your time.

My Lord, we are here preparing for your reception, and for a quiet session under your government; but, whether you approve the manner, I can only guess. It is by universal declarations against Wood's coin. One thing I am confident of, that your Excellency will find and leave us under dispositions very different, towards your person and high station, from what have appeared towards others.

I have no other excuse for the length of this letter, but a faithful promise that I will never be guilty of the same fault a second time. I am, &c.¹

¹ This letter was first printed by Deane Swift, 1765, and obviously copied by him from a draft, which was dated 3 Sept. The text, as printed from Swift's autograph, dated 4 Sept., which has been used earlier in this edition (iii. 30-33) shows many variants. The original is in Lord Rothschild's library.

APPENDIX XIX

Morgan Library

AGREEMENTS BETWEEN SWIFT, POPE, AND MOTTE, 1727-9

Whereas it is propos'd to print certain Misellanies by Dr Swift Mr Pope Dr Arbuthnot &c. in Two or more Volumes to be annex'd to a Volume under that Title publish'd by Mr. Tooke already: I hereby agree to pay for the Copy of the said Miscellanies, at the rate of Four Pounds for each Sheet as much as they shall make printed in the present Octavo, and to pay for the said First Volume already publish'd by Mr Tooke the Sum of Fifty Pounds. Of which Sum and Sums, Fifty Pounds to be paid down: One Hundred within Two Months after the Publication of the Two Volumes: One Hundred within Four Months after the said Publication: and in case of another Volume to be added: the payment for it at the same rate, to be also made within Two Months after its Publication. In consideration whereof the sole Copy Right to be vested in me. And whereas there are to be inserted Two or Three Pieces already printed by others, to which they have acquir'd a lawful Property from the Author, the same are intended to be included within this Agreement, and no part of the said Copy money deducted, except for as much as shall exceed Four Sheets. Witness my hand. Mar. 29. 1727.

Benj: Motte

We whose names are hereto signed, do agree to the aforesaid Conditions,

Jonath: Swift

Alex^r Pope.

Apr. 10. 1727.

Recd y^e Sum of fifty pounds in part of y^e foresaid Agreement,

A. Pope.

June 12. 1728. This is to acknowledge, that (having given Mr Motte farther time for y^e payment of y^e first one hundred pd herein mention'd, which was due last May) I have Receivd of him a Note of fifty pound to me, payable next October, and a nother Note of fifty pound for Dr Arbuthnot, payable next August, in part hereof.

A. Pope.

We whose names are underwritten do hereby acknowledge in behalf of ourselves and the Rev^d Dr Swift, that we have receiv'd full satisfaction of the within nam'd Benjamin Motte for the Three Volumes of Miscel-

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lanies within mention'd now printed: and that we have granted to the said Benjamin Motte his Executors, Administrators and Assigns the entire Right and Title to the same for Fourteen Years from the Date of the Publication, and we do promise at the Expiration of the said Fourteen Years [to] renew the said Grant to him or his Assigns for the further Term of Fourteen Years for the sum of Five Shillings And I the said Benjamin Motte in consideration of an Abatement already made of Twenty Five Pounds part of the Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds due by virtue of the within agreement for the first Three Volumes do hereby quit claim to any Pretensions I may have by virtue of this Agreement to the Fourth Volume of Miscellanies therein mentioned, and I do hereby acquit the said Mr Pope and the other Persons here mentioned from the same.

Witness our hands July 1. 1729

Benj: Motte Alex^r Pope.

Sir. Twitnam June 30. [1727]

Send me next (after y^e sheet R. & this) y^e last sheet of Cadenus & Vanessa. As to y^e first, & y^e Title to Vol. 4. &c. let that alone to y^e last, next winter: only let y^m print one halfsheet, for me, of y^e beginning of Cadenus. For we will let y^e Table alone, & leave room for some new additions to y^e verses. As to y^e Poem, w^{ch} I will have to end y^e Volume; it will make 3 sheets at least; & I will take Time till winter to finish it. It may then be publishd singly first, if proper, I'm sure it will be advantageous, so to do. but say not a word of it to any man.

The advertisem^t of Curl is a silly piece of Impertinence, not worth notice, & it serves to tell every body what makes for my purpose & reputation, 'That those Letters to Mr Cromwell were printed without My Consent or knowledge.' The fact of *Cabinets being broke open & dead people's Closets ransackd, is nevertheless true*, which this Scoundrel wishes to have applyd to *Cromwells Letters*, only to advance their Sale, tho' it was spoken of other Instances relating to y^e Dean's as well as mine.

You shall begin printing y^e next Volume of Prose, when you will; the large new Treatise w^{ch} I formerly told you of, relating to Rhetoric & Poetry, being in great forwardness, & y^e rest ready.

I am very sincerely, (& so is the Dean)

Y^r affect. Servant

A. Pope.

I'm afraid you have not sent the Books to Mr Congreve at Bath, for I recd a lett^r from him without mention of 'em. Pray enquire ab^t it.

Addressed: To Mr Motte.

Endorsed by Pope: Pray send one Sett of y^e Miscellanies to | W^m Fortescue Esq. at his house in | Bellyard, in my name.

APPENDIX XX

THE SUPPRESSED LETTER TO CHETWODE

To Ventoso

Sir,¹

April 28, 1731.

Your letter hath lain by me without acknowledging it longer than I intended, not for want of civility, but because I was wholly at a loss what to say, for, as your scheme of thinking, conversing, and living, differs in every point diametrically from mine, so I think myself the most improper person in the world to converse or correspond with you. You would be glad to be thought a proud man, and yet there is not a grain of pride in you, for you are pleased that people should know you have been acquainted with persons of great names and titles, whereby you confess, that you take it for an honour, which a proud man never does, and besides, you ran the hazard of not being believed. You went abroad, and strove to engage yourself in a desperate cause, very much to the damage of your fortune, and might have been to the danger of your life, if there had not been, as it were, a combination of some, who would not give credit to the account you gave of your transactions, and of others, who either really, or pretending, to believe you, have given you out as a dangerous person, of which last notion I once hinted something to you, because if what you repeated of yourself were true, it was necessary that you had either made your peace, or must have been prosecuted for high treason.

The reputation, if there be any, of having been acquainted with princes, and other great persons, arises from its being generally known to others, but never once mentioned by ourselves, if it can possibly be avoided. I say this perfectly for your service; because an universal opinion, among those who know or have heard of you, that you have always practised a direct contrary proceeding, hath done you more hurt, than your natural understanding, left to itself, could ever have brought upon you. The world will never allow any man that character which he gives to himself, by openly professing it to those with whom he converseth. Wit, learning, valour, great acquaintance, the esteem of good men will be known, although we should endeavour to conceal them, however they may pass unrewarded, but, I doubt, our own bare assertions, upon any of those points, will very little avail, except in tempting the hearers to judge directly contrary to what we advance. Therefore, at this season of your life, I should be glad you would act after the common custom of mankind, and have done with thoughts of courts, of ladies, of lords, of politics, and all dreams of being important in the world.

¹ See Swift's letter to Chetwode of 8 May 1731 (iii. 461) in which he speaks of composing letters to him which he then burned. This letter, first printed by Deane Swift, 1765, escaped the fire.

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I am glad your country life hath taught you Latin, of which you were altogether ignorant when I knew you first, and I am astonished how you came to recover it. Your new friend Horace will teach you many lessons agreeable to what I have said, for which I could refer to a dozen passages in a few minutes. I should be glad to see the house wholly swept of these cobwebs, and that you would take an oath, never to mention a prince or princess, a foreign or domestic lord, an intrigue of state or of love; but suit yourself to the climate and company where your prudence will be to pass the rest of your life. It is not a farthing matter to you what is doing in Europe, more than to every alderman who reads the news in a coffee-house.

If you could resolve to act thus, your understanding is good enough to qualify you for any conversation in this kingdom. Families will receive you without fear or restraint, nor watch to hear you talk in the grand style, laugh when you are gone, and tell it to all their acquaintance. It is a happiness that this quality may, by a man of sense, be as easily shaken off as it is acquired, especially when he hath no proper claim to it; for you were not bred to be a man of business; you never were called to any employments at courts; but destined to be a private gentleman, to entertain yourself with country business and country acquaintance, or, at best, with books of amusement in your own language. It is an uncontrolled truth that no man ever made an ill figure who understood his own talents, nor a good one who mistook them. I am, etc.

APPENDIX XXI

SHERIDAN'S CONFESSION OF BEING OFTEN DECEIVED

Memd^m Oct^b. 22^d 1731

D^r Sheridan forced to premise and allowed that he hath been thirty times deceived in affirming Servants and Agents to be honest. does now the one and thirtyth time positively assert, that his present agent at Quilca, Woolly by name is the most honest diligent and skillfull fellow in Ireland. Signed at D^r Grattans house | Thomas Sheridan¹

¹ This memorandum, written by Swift on part of a cover, is preserved in the Forster Collection, No. 525. The signature and second 'honest' are in Sheridan's autograph. Furthermore, it has been twice endorsed by Swift. In one instance the endorsement reads: 'Oct^b. 22^d. 1731. D^r Sheridan's Certificate of his being often deceivd'. In the second, the words run 'of his being often cheated.'

APPENDIX XXII

LETTERS FROM PILKINGTON TO WILLIAM BOWYER AND OTHER LETTERS RELATING TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE MISCELLANY

Nichols 1779

The Rev. Matthew Pilkington to William Bowyer

Sir,

November 9, 1731.

I have been much surprised at your long silence, and perhaps you have been affected in the same manner at mine. But as I hope always to preserve the friendship we have begun, I must acquaint you with the reasons of my conduct. I have the misfortune to live in a scene of great hurry, and between attending those who live in high stations who honour me with their friendship, and discharging the duties of my profession, I have scarce a moment disengaged, yet I constantly desired my friend Faulkner to write to you in my name, because I imagined it would save postage, and I thought it unreasonable to trouble you with my letters when I had no very urgent business to write to you upon, and had too many obligations to you to think of adding to your expense. But I cannot imagine what you can plead in your excuse for your neglect of writing to me, who am desirous to continue a constant correspondence; I shall be glad to hear you justify yourself.

Yesterday I saw a letter of yours to Mr. Faulkner, and on so distressful a subject that I very sensibly shared in your affliction.¹ I am naturally apt to pity the woes of my fellow creatures, but the wounds of my friend are my own. Here my office ought to be to administer comfort to you in so great a calamity, but I know how much easier it is to preach patience and resignation than to practise either. The strongest reason acts but feebly upon the heart that is loaded with grief, nor is the highest eloquence powerful enough to heal a wounded spirit. Time and a firm trust in Divine Providence, which undoubtedly orders all things for the best, are the only ministers of comfort in our misfortunes, and I hope your own virtue will enable you to bear this affliction with the resolution of a Christian, though joined with all the tenderness of a friend, and the fondest esteem for the memory of that relation you have lost.

I desired Mr Faulkner, about six weeks ago, to return you my thanks for your kindness in procuring the books from Mr. Giles's, which I received safe, and also the box of those writings of mine. And I am extremely

¹ The death of his wife.

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grieved to find that Faulkner neglected mentioning either. I had not known it only for your postscript, wherein you desire to know whether I received them. I would have wrote to you before this, if I had not believed that your charge was paid; for Dr. Delany is, I believe, by this time, in London, and he wrote to me from Bath for directions where to find you in London, that he might pay off his bill, and return you his thanks for your kindness to us. Let me beg the favour of you to acquaint Mr. Giles with this, because I would not for any consideration seem to forget my creditors, though in another country; if Dr. Delany be not come to you, I desire you will enquire out his lodgings; And I believe you may be informed either at Lord Bolingbroke's or Mr. Percival's in Conduit Street: tell him your name whenever you go to wait upon him, and I assure you the Doctor will be extremely friendly to you, and glad to see you, for I have often talked to him of you.

I received ninety-four books¹ from you, but I believe you must commit them to the charge of Mr. Faulkner; because I have no opportunity of selling, but bestowing them; for when any of my friends are desirous to have one, and ask me where they are to be had, I am always too generous or too bashful (which is a great rarity among us Irish) to accept of payment for them; and by this means I shall be under the necessity of giving all away, which would be too expensive an article to me. Now what I think would answer, would be, to send what I have not bestowed to Mr. Faulkner, and let him publish in his news-paper, that he has imported some of those books, and let him be accountable to you for the sale. I wrote to you for thirty, which I expected to give away: and I believe I have distributed so many. When I receive your answer, I will give you a particular account, and remit you the money for them, the first opportunity. If I find Dr. Delany's lodgings out from any friends here, or from his letters to me, I will give you immediate notice. I should be glad to have any catalogues that were now selling in London; and if you could send any of them, or any other little pamphlets, they may be directed to the Lord Bishop of Killala, in Dublin for me. I never received either the *Monthly Chronicle* for March, nor the *Historia Literaria* for ditto: I believe it miscarried, by being directed to Faulkner; they were not for Dr. Delany, but for another gentleman in town; but I had forgot, till the gentleman asked me for them the other day. I shall be glad to hear from you soon; and am your most sincere friend,

Matt. Pilkington.

There is one Green, a Bookseller, lately come from London to this town, who has imported a very curious collection of books; but he has rated them so excessively dear, and seems to act so haughtily in the sale of them, that I believe above three-fourths of them will be sent back

¹ Copies of the London edition of Pilkington's *Poems*.

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to-morrow to England again. I made the Dean of St. Patrick's go with me there the first morning; but all the books were too dear for either of us.

Nichols 1779

Same to Same

5 February 1732.

Sir,

I find you are resolved to lay me under so many obligations to you, that, upon principles of gratitude, I must be always desirous to promote your interest to the utmost of my power. I think you have nothing more left now to do, but to make the experiment, by putting it in my way to return your favours. I sent sixty-five books to Mr. Faulkner's, and hope, some time or other, to have it in my power to make acknowledgments. I find Mr. Faulkner sent you a little pamphlet of my writing, called *An Infallible Scheme to pay the Debts of this Nation*. I have the honour to see it mistaken for the Dean's, both in Dublin and in your part of the world, but I am still diffident of it, whether it will merit esteem or contempt. It was a sudden whim, and I was tempted to send it into the world by the approbation which the Dean, my wisest and best friend, expressed when he read it; if you were concerned in the printing of it, I hope you will be no sufferer. I am very much obliged to you for receiving the young printer, whom I recommended to you, in so friendly a manner. If I can, on this side of the water, be serviceable to any friend of yours, command me.

I am much pleased to hear of your acquaintance with Dr. Delany, who is the best of friends, and I do not doubt but your affection for him will increase with your intimacy with him. I desire you to present my service to him; and tell him that the Dean designs to trouble him to buy a convenient microscope, that he may find out both myself and my house with greater ease than he can at present, because we are both so excessively small, that he can scarce discover either. I hope to hear soon from you, although it be Parliament time, and you hurried with business; and shall always be | Your sincere friend and servant, | Matt. Pilkington.

Nichols 1779

Same to Same

Sir,

Dublin, August 17, 1732.

When I received your last letter with the note to Mr. North I went directly to wait on him. . . . I am extremely obliged to you for the favour of such a present, and shall be glad to have an opportunity to express my gratitude to you.

I would send with this letter two or three of those papers which I design for your volume, but the Dean is reading them over to try if there be

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any alteration requisite in any of them. I showed him your note to Mr. North, and I believe he was at least as much pleased as the person who was to receive it. We have thoughts of preparing a preface to your edition in the name of the editor. Let me know whether I shall send the pamphlets by post, and whether you have the *Journal of a Dublin Lady*, the *Ballad on the English Dean*, and *Rochfort's Journal*, because you shall have the copies sent to you and the property effectually secured. I mentioned your request to the Dean, and I shall get you the right of printing the Proposal for *Eating Children*. I mentioned the alteration of the titles; and he thinks it will be most proper to give them both the Irish and English titles; for instance, the *Soldier and the Scholar*, or *Hamilton's Bawn*, etc. I have some hope of being able to send all these in about a week or fortnight's time, and shall venture to send them by post, though it will be expensive. The Dean says he thinks the assignment as full as it is possible for him to write, but that he will comply with any alterations we think proper.¹ I shall expect to hear from you as soon as possible, because I have some schemes to transact which probably I shall acquaint you with in my next letter. . . . I am, Sir, | Your most obliged servant, | Matt. Pilkington.

Nichols 1779

Same to Same

August 28 1732

Sir,

I have sent you some of the pamphlets I promised, in as large a parcel as I could venture. The Dean has, with his own hand, made some alterations in some of them. I will, by next post, or next best one, send you another pamphlet at least, and a new assignment from the Dean. He received a letter from Mr. Pope and Mr. Motte; but neither have been

¹ Swift's autograph of the assignment to which Pilkington refers will be found in the Harvard University Library, dated 22 July 1732. The assignment reads as follows: 'Whereas severall scattered Papers in prose and verse for three or four years last past, were printed in Dublin by Mr George Faulkner, some of which were sent in Manuscript to Mr William Bowyer of London, Printer, which pieces are supposed to be written by me, and are now by the means of the Reverend Mathew Pilkington who delivered or sent them to the said Faulkner and Bowyer, become the Property of the s^d Faulkner and Bowyer, I do here without specifying the said Papers, give up all manner of right I may be thought to have in the said Papers, to Mr Mathew Pilkington aforesaid, who informs me that he intends to give up the said right to Mr Bowyer aforesaid. | Witness my hand. Jul. 22. 1732 | Jonath: Swift.

From the Deanry-House in Dublin, the day and year above written.'

Pilkington's reassignment to Bowyer, dated 5 October 1732, is printed by Nichols in his note to this letter. See also Pope's *Correspondence*, ed. Sherburn, iii. 323.

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of the least disadvantage to my request. I cannot say but I am proud of the firmness of his friendship to me.

I desire that you will insist upon your right by the assignment I formerly sent; and let Mr. Motte shew you any thing under the Dean's hand which will invalidate it!

I sent back the bill, and have never since received any answer, whether you received it or not. Our affair is a point where the Dean's honour is concerned; and that very consideration may convince you that your interest will be secured. You shall hear from me more particularly in a post or two.

I send you a catalogue of some of those pieces which you are entitled to print; and if you would add any of the *Intelligencers*, I can inform you which are the Dean's, and which not. *M. P.*

A catalogue of Pieces which you are empowered to print by the Dean's assignment.

The Barrack.

An Ode to *Ireland* from *Horace*.

A Libel on Dr. *Delany* and Ld. *Carteret*.

To Dr. *Delany* on the Libels against him.

O'Rourk.

The Dressing-room.

The Defence of it.

The Journal at *Rochford's*.

The Thorn.

City Cries.

Project, Bishops' Lands.

On Bishops' Leases.

Arguments against repealing the Test Act.

Considerations on the Bishops' Bills.

Vindication of Ld. *Carteret*.

Proposal for eating Children.

Poem on the *English* Dean.

Journal of a *Dublin* Lady.

Morgan Library

*Alexander Pope to Benjamin Motte*¹

[16 August 1732.]

Sir,

Had I had the least thought you would have now desired what you before so deliberately refused, I would certainly have preferred you to

¹ This and the following letter directly concern the volume of *Miscellanies* which appeared in October under the imprint of Motte and Gilliver. The year is added to the date in a different hand, probably that of Motte.

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any other Bookseller. All I could now do was to speak to Mr. Gilliver as you requested, to give you the share you would have in the Property, & to set aside my obligation & Covenant with him so far, to gratify the Dean & yourself. You cannot object I think with any Reason to the Terms which he pays, & which at the first word he agreed to.

I am | Sir | Your Friend & Servant | A. Pope

Aug. 16. 1732.

Huntington Library

Alexander Pope to Matthew Pilkington

[? October 1732.]

Sir,

Since I mentioned to you the Pretension of Mr. Bowyer the Printer, in order to be clear in my Intentions of doing Justice to him, as well as in those Intentions He appeal'd to (namely the Dean's in that Paper he signed) I find by a long letter he sent to Gilliver, that he departs from that Foot he first put it upon, and does not seem to leave the matter to the Dean & me at all. His words to me in his Letter (which caused me to apply to the Dean) were 'that he would readily submit to have his claim bounded within such Limits as he & I should prescribe.' In compliance to his pretension, I writ: the Dean answerd, *no man had any title from him more than Curll*; nevertheless I writ again, that Bowyer had something under his hand: He answerd, *his Intention* was nothing of a perpetuity, but a Leave only to reprint to Mr. Falkner & him, with promise not to molest 'em by *any Interest of his as to such pieces as were imputed to him*. He declares he had no thought of giving them a perpetuity, but a Permission to the former end only, 'however Faukner & Böyer may have *contrived to turn those papers into a Property*.' These are his words.

I have done what Bowyer desired, & it's plain if he would be judgd by the *Dean's Intentions*, here they are. But I find he is a true Bookseller, and therefore shall leave it to himself & Gilliver; If there be a legal title I presume he will not wave it in any wise to oblige us; and if not, I will not presume to determine what I don't know, nor to meddle, if he rejects me as an Arbitrator. But I understand by you, that he has no Right to the Scheme for paying the Debts, nor to the Intelligencers, in the latter of which Dr. Sheridan only has a right by a Prior Gift of the Dean's. Mr. Bowyer also puts these into his Catalogue & two Pieces into the Bargain, which are *not* the Dean's. It is a very comprehensive assignment, this he speaks of, which claims not only what *is* own'd but what is *not* own'd, nay what is *not His*. He represented to me that it would be a hardship to print in our Collection what the Dean *might not care to*

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owne, and at the same time prints them *In his name*. Upon the whole it is plain I was deceivd in thinking Mr. Bowyer so civil & candid to the Dean & to me. When I suggested the best way he could take to please Him, (by seperating the Ludicrous things in the present Collection, & leaving to him to print the serious or political) his reply was, he thought I could not persuade him that *Half was more than the whole*. Yet this is a great Truth as Authors well know, tho' Booksellers do not. He also went so far as to ask *what authority* I had from the Dean, that was *prior* to his assignment when the authority was subsisting from the time he, & I published the 3 volumes of Our Miscellanies & in the Preface to them, he may see this other Volume then intended by the Dean as well as myself. Since he has no other Sense of my complying with his Plea, than to suppose he is arguing with me instead Gilliver, pray assure him I will not take upon me to *limit* his Pretensions or to *enlarge* them, but leave the matter between the Booksellers as they can agree it, and that the only reason that made me offer *any* opinion about it, was his pretending to have his *claim bounded by the Dean & me*. If his assignment be plain & Legal, it is not that I will obstruct, or can obstruct, or intend to obstruct it. So there it rests: only let Mr. Boyer know, he has, by the modest manner in which he first proposed it, given me more trouble than I find he thanks me for.

I am Sir | Your affectionate Servant | A. Pope.

Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 11-12

Mr. Clarke to William Bowyer

18 December 1732

I hope the great affairs about property in Irish Wit are in a way of being amicably adjusted, and that Mr. Pope and you agree to divide the interest of it. It is awkward dealing with a man who stands foremost in his profession, and at such a distance from the rest of them, especially if he be a Wit or a Critick. he then imagines himself absolute in his own province, and that every thing he meddles with belongs to it—disputing with him is touching his prerogative, and the way to fall under his resentment. Have you come off safe from this dangerous controversy? or is Mr. Pope less assuming since he has drawn-off such a quantity of spleen into the Dunciad?

Same to Same

5 May 1733

I wish you joy of the peaceful situation you seem to be in at present, and hope your disputes are finished to your satisfaction, I have heard that Ladies of the first rank begin to espouse your side of the question

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and fall upon your powerful Adversary; that Lady Betty Germaine particularly has written a most severe satire upon him. I have not seen it, but wonder that you should take no notice that the fair sex are not at all in his interest. For my part I generally prefer peace before victory; and your letters confirm me in these sentiments. You talk of the dispute with more candour than either the victors or the vanquished are used to do. But, whatever are the terms of your accommodation, I like the issue of it extremely, as it gives you leisure to talk of it with your friends in the country.

APPENDIX XXIII

THE 'COUNTERFEIT' LETTER TO QUEEN CAROLINE

Dub. June. 22^d 1735¹

Madam

I have had the hon^r to tell your Majesty on another occasion, that provinces labour under one mighty misfortune, w^{ch} is in a great measure the cause of all the rest: and that is, that they are for the most part far removed from the Prince's eye, and of consequence from the influence both of his wisdom and goodness. This is the case of Ireland beyond expression! There is not one mortal here, who is not well satisfied of y^r Majesty's good intentions to all your people: and yet y^r Subjects of this Isle are so far from sharing the effects of your good dispositions, in any equitable degree: are so far from enjoying all the good to w^{ch} they are entitled, from your Majestie's most gracious inclinations, that they often find great difficulty how to enjoy even the relief of complaint.

to omit a thous^d other instances, there is one person of Irish birth, eminent for genius, and merit of many kinds, *an honour* to her Country, and to her Sex; I will be bold to say, *not less so in her Sphere, than your Majesty in yours*; and yet all her talents and vertues have not yet been able to influence any one person about y^r Majesty, so far as to introduce her into y^r least notice: as I am y^r Majesty's most dutifull and Loyal Subject, tis a debt I owe your Majesty to acquaint you, that M^{rs} Barber, *the best female poet of this or perhaps of any age*, is now in your Majesty's capital; known to Lady Harford, Lady Torrington, Lady Walpole &c. a woman

¹ This letter is printed from the original in the Forster Collection, no. 548 (48. G. 6/2). Below the incorrect date '1735' there appears in Swift's hand 'or, one', and possibly Swift underlined the italicized passages.

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whose genius is honoured by every man of genius in this Kingdom, and either *honour'd* or *envy'd* by every man of genius in England—

Your Majesty is justly revered for those great abilities with w^{ch} God hath blest you; for y^r regard to learning, and y^r zeal for true religion: compleat your character by your regard to persons of genius; especially those, who make the greatness of their talents, after your Majesty's example, subservient to the good of mankind, and the glory of god, which is most remarkably Mr^s Barber's case and character.

Give me leave to tell you, Madam, that every Subject of understanding and virtue, throughout your dominions is appointed by Providence of your Council; and this madam, is an open, and an honest apology for this trouble; or to speak more properly, for this dutifull information. tis your true interest, that all your subjects should see that merit is regarded by you in one instance, or rather that it is not disregarded in any instance. let them dayly bless god for every gift of wisdom and goodness bestowed upon you: and pray incessantly for the long continuance of them; as doth your Majesty's most dutifull & loyal subject and serv^t

Jonath. Swift.¹

Endorsed by Swift: Counterfeit Lett^r | from me to the Queen. | Sent to me by Mr^r Pope, | Dated Jun. 22^d 1731 | Rx Jul. 19th 1731. | Given by the Countess of | Suffolk.

APPENDIX XXIV

ALLEGED LETTER OF SWIFT TO DEANE SWIFT

Huntington Library. HM 14372

Dublin 10 Oct: 1735.

Dear Sir,²

As you have been pleas'd to honr me wth yo^r friendship in so generous a manner so I think myself bound to throw off all manner of Disguise & discover to you my real Circumstances w^{ch} I shall do with all the open-

¹ The signature is an extremely poor imitation of Swift's autograph.

² This letter, printed by Scott and from him by Ball (v. 245), as if from Swift to Deane Swift, was at one time in the Rowfant Library, which was sold to America in 1905. The manuscript of the letter, not in Swift's autograph, and seriously injured down the left margin of the sheet, is in the Huntington Library, HM 14372. The hand has no resemblance to that of Swift; and the tiresome content carries no suggestion of a likely letter to Deane Swift. With some variants it was printed in *An Useful and Entertaining Collection of Letters*, W. Bickerton, London, 1745. Many lines in the left margin are illegible. These have been supplied by conjecture.

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ness and freedom imaginable. You will be surpris'd at the beginning of my story and be inclined to think the whole a Banter: But you may depend on its being actually true, & if need was, I could bring the Parson of the Parish to testify the same.

You must know then I live in a poor little house of Clay, that stands on a Wast, as other Cottages do: & w^t is worst of all, I am liable to be turn'd out at a minute's warning. It's of a Coppy-hold Tenure & the Custom of the Mannor is this—for the first 30 years of my Life I am to pay Nothing, but only to do suit & service, and attend upon the Courts that are kept once a week or oftener. For 20 years after that I am to pay a Rose every year; & farther than this, during the remainder of my Life I am to pay a Tooth, w^{ch} you will say is a whimsicall Acknowledgem^t every two or three years or oftener if it be demanded; & wⁿ I have Nothing else to pay, Out with me is the Word: & I won't be long before my Person will be seized. I might have had my Tenement such as it was on better terms, if it had not been the fault of my great Grandfather. He & his Wife wth the advice of a bad Neighbour robb'd an orchard belonging to the Lord of the Mannor & so forfeited their grand Priveleges—To my Sorrow I am sure: But however I must do as well as I can.

I shall endeavour to keep my House in tolerable good Repair: My Kitchen, wherein I dress my Victuals is a comical sort of a little Room; Somew^t the figure of an oven: It answers very well the Business it was design'd for & y^{ts} enough. My Garrets, or rather cock-lofts are indeed but indifferently furnish't, but they are Rooms w^{ch} few People regard now unless it be to lay Lumber in. However I make shift to Rub on in my little Way, & wⁿ Rent-Day comes I must see & discharge it as well as I can. I understand my Lodge, or whatever you'll please to call it, descends upon a low-spirited creeping Family remarkable only for nothing but being instrumental in advancing the Reputation of the great *Moor** in Abchurch lane: But be that as it will, I have one snug Apartment, w^{ch} I reserve for my choicest friends, w^{ch} is on the left side in the very house where you will be always a welcome Guest, & you may depend upon a Lodging as long as the Edifice is in the occupation of | Yo^r humble Serv^t | J.S.¹

*The famous Worm powder, Doct^r.

Address: To | Deane Swift Esqr | St. Mary-Hall | Oxon.

¹ Also in the Huntington Library, HM 24018, is another ostensible letter of Swift's to an unnamed correspondent dated from Moor Park, March 7, 1697–8. It is not in his autograph and may be dismissed as a forgery.

APPENDIX XXV

ADVERTISEMENTS OF SWIFT'S WORKS

Faulkner's announcement of his proposed edition of Swift's *Works* appeared under the date 'Feb. 9, 1733' in his *Dublin Journal* for 10 Feb. 1732-3. This has been reprinted in *Prose Works*, ed. Herbert Davis, xiv. 42.

Nearly a year later this announcement was amplified in the following advertisement, which was appended to Faulkner's second Dublin reprint of 'A Scheme to make an Hospital for Incurables':

Dublin, January 19, 1734.

The Writings of the Reverend Dr. J. S. D. S. P. D. were published six Years ago in *London*, in three Volumes, mingled with those of some other Gentlemen his Friends. Neither is it easy to distinguish the Authors of several Pieces contained in them.

But, besides those three Volumes, there are several Treatises relating to *Ireland*, that were first published in this Kingdom, many of which are not contained in the *Drapier's Letters*.

It hath been long wished, by several Persons of Quality and Distinction, that a new compleat Edition of this Author's Works, should be printed by itself.

But this can no where be done so conveniently as in *Ireland*, where Booksellers cannot pretend to any Property in what they publish, either by Law or Custom.

This is therefore to give Notice that the Undertaker *George Faulkner*, Printer in *Essex Street* is now printing by Subscription all the Works that are generally allowed to have been written by the said Dr. S. in four Volumes, which are now in the Press, at 17s. and 4d. in Sheets, beautifully printed on a fine Paper in *Octavo*, and shall be delivered to the Subscribers by the 25th of *March* next; Eight *English* Shillings to be paid at the Time of subscribing, and the Remainder at the Delivery of a compleat Set. Whoever subscribes for six Copies, shall have a Seventh *gratis*.

The first volume shall contain the Prose Part of the Author's Miscellanies, printed many Years ago in *London* and *Dublin*, together with several other Treatises since published in small Papers, or in the three Volumes set out and signed *Jonathan Swift* and *Alexander Pope*.

The second Volume shall contain the Author's poetical Works, all joined together; with many original Poems, that have hitherto only gone about in Manuscript.

The third Volume shall contain the Travels of Capt. *Lemuel Gulliver*, in four Parts, wherein many Alterations made by the *London* Printers will be set right, and several Omissions inserted. Which Alterations and Omissions were without the Author's Knowledge, and much to his

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Displeasure, as we have learned from an intimate Friend of the Author's, who in his own Copy, transcribed in blank Paper, the several Paragraphs omitted, and settled the Alterations and Changes according to the original copy.

The last Volume shall contain the Author's Letters, written under the name of *M. B. Drapier*, with two additional Ones never printed before; and likewise several Papers relating to *Ireland*, acknowledged to be of the same Author.

In this Edition, the gross Errors committed by the Printers, both here and in *London*, shall be faithfully corrected; the true Original, in the Author's own Hand having been communicated to us by a Friend in whom the Author much confided, and who had Leave to correct his own printed Copies from the Author's most finished Manuscript, where several changes were made, not only in the Style, but in other material Circumstances.

N.B. A compleat Edition of the Author's Works can never be printed in *England*, because some of them were published without his Knowledge or Liking, and consequently belong to different Proprietors; and likewise, because as they now stand, they are mingled with those of other Gentlemen his Friends.

The Author's Effigies, curiously engraven by Mr. *Vertue*, shall be prefixed to each Volume. There will also be several other Cuts, proper to the Work.

Subscriptions will be taken till the Middle of *February*, and no longer.

N.B. After the Subscribers are served, no other Person shall have the Works for less than a Guinea.

Soon after, Faulkner promised delivery at 'the beginning of April', and in the issue of his paper for 18 June 1734 publication was announced for July. After a further delay publication was set for 6 Nov. 1734.

The following announcement appears in Dalton's *Dublin Impartial News Letter* of Saturday, 23 Nov. 1734:

On Wednesday next will be delivered to the Subscribers at the House of George Faulkner, Printer and Bookseller, in Essex Street, and no where else in Dublin, Three Volumes of the Writings of the Reverend D. S. D. S. P. D. Beautifully Printed, in Octavo, on a fine Genoa Paper, and neatly Bound. The other Volume shall be given out the 6th Day of January next: This Delay is owing to several new Pieces which came late to our Hands, and being willing to give our worthy Subscribers all the Satisfaction in our Power, we have inserted them in this Collection without any additional charge to the Subscribers. It is to be hoped that no Person whatever will take it ill, that they cannot have these Works for less than a Guinea Bound, having had timely notice to Subscribe thereto. A few Copies are Printed on Royal Paper, at Forty Shillings in Sheets, or Two Guineas Bound.

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Finally, on 7 Jan. 1734-5 the *Dublin Journal* carried the announcement of publication, on that day, of the four volumes complete.

Three months later the edition was found to be circulating more freely than was wished, and an appeal for help in detecting the circulators was inserted in the *Dublin Gazette* of 15-19 April 1735:

Several Setts of the Writings of J. S., DD, D.S.P.D. both in 8vo and 12mo having been Stolen out of the Warehouse and Shop of George Faulkner, Printer and Bookseller, in Essex Street, and disposed of to some Sellers of Old Books in St. Patrick's Street, and to one John Sheal, a Hawker, and others of his Profession, who carry Books in green Aprons, and who have sold those Books to Gentlemen at an under Rate; it is therefore most humbly desired that all worthy Persons will detect such Villains as may by any fraudulent Means have these Books to dispose of, there never having been one Sett of them sold to any Hawker whatever.

Many Setts of the said Books being stolen out of my Warehouse and Shop, I do hereby promise a Reward of three Guineas to any Person, who shall discover and convict any one who stole the same, and if any Person concerned will discover his or her Accomplice, I will endeavour to procure them Pardon and pay them the above Reward.

George Faulkner.

Dublin, April 11, 1735.

It is most humbly desired that such Gentlemen as have bought the above Books of Hawkers not knowing them to be stole, will be so kind as to let me know, and I shall acknowledge the Favour in any manner.

A year later the appearance of volumes five and six was thus announced in the *Dublin Gazette* of 14-17 Feb. 1735-6.

Dublin, February 5, 1735-6.

GEORGE FAULKNER, Printer and Bookseller, in *Essex Street, Dublin*, having met with very great Encouragement from the Nobility and Gentry of *Great Britain and Ireland* for four Volumes which he hath lately published of the Writings of the Rev. J. S., DD, D.S.P.D., proposeth to publish two Volumes more of the said Author's Works consisting of *Political Tracts*, and many Pieces both in Verse and Prose never before published.

I. The Books shall be printed on a beautiful Letter and fine *Genoa* Paper in large *Octavo* with same Size and Manner as the four first Volumes, which contained:

1. The Author's Miscellanies in Prose.
2. His *Poetical Works*.
3. The Travels of *Captain Lemuel Gulliver*.
4. The *Drapier's Letters*, and other Papers relating to Ireland.

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II. The Price is eight Shillings and eight Pence to Subscribers; Four Shillings and four Pence to be paid at the Time of subscribing, and the Remainder on the Delivery of the Books.

Subscriptions are taken in by the Undertaker, *George Faulkner*, and by Alderman *Bennet* in Cork.

Note. The Books shall not be sold to any but a Subscriber for less than half a Guinea.

N.B. The Work is ready for the Press, therefore such Persons as are willing to subscribe, are desired to send their Names and pay their Subscription Money immediately, or they cannot have the Benefit of Subscribers. The Books will infallibly be delivered before next Trinity-Term or perhaps sooner.¹

APPENDIX XXVI SWIFT'S REPUTED BROTHER

Inquiries have been made in *Notes and Queries*² as to the following entry which occurs under the year 1737 in the burial registers of the church of St. Andrew, Northborough, Northamptonshire—'Thos. Swift Bro. to Dr. Jon. Swift Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin Dec. 3d'. All that is known with absolute certainty as to the marriage of Swift's parents and the birth of their children is that on 25 June 1664 James Margetson, Archbishop of Armagh, issued a licence for the marriage of Jonathan Swift to Abigail Erick 'of the city of Dublin spinster',³ and that on 1 May 1666, in St. Michan's Church, Dublin, their daughter Jane was baptized.

It is a fact, however, that the above entry does occur in the registers of Northborough. Further, it is of interest, as proved by the researches of P. D. Mundy (*Notes and Queries*, cxcv. 407; Sept. 1950) that the entry was made by Joseph Sparke, instituted to the living of Northborough in 1723, died 1740. He was a scholar and well-known antiquary, who has gained a substantial column in *D.N.B.* Most of the entries at that time were signed 'William Richardson, Curate'. Sparke was Registrar of Peterborough Cathedral. He was buried there, and there is a monument to him in the retro-choir. It may, therefore, be assumed that he was mainly a non-resident of Northborough. The entry in his hand at Northborough does not appear in the Bishop's Transcript at Peterborough for the year 1737, which is signed by the curate William Richardson, and therefore it appears to have been added subsequently to the register. This would seem to be conclusive evidence against a fact which is without corroboration from any other source.

It may here be added that Swift is a fairly common name in the Northants-Lincolnshire area in which Northborough is situated.

¹ They were not in fact published until 1738, see p. 74, n. 2 above.

² 7, vi. 225; 8, iii. 447. ³ Prerogative Grants in P.R.O., Ireland.

APPENDIX XXVII

SWIFT TO DR. WILLIAM KING [1734-5?]

William King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, in the reminiscences which he wrote in his 76th year, referring to *The Toast, An Epic Poem*, which first appeared in two books, 1732, and was completed by him in two more books, 1736, quotes a few lines from a letter which he had received from Swift. No trace of the original letter survives. It is doubtful whether Swift and King were personally acquainted before 1734; and the quarto edition of the poem, containing four books, was not published till near the end of 1736. The date of Swift's letter may, therefore, be placed 1734-5.

King writes: 'I began THE TOAST in anger, but I finished it in good humour. When I had concluded the second book, I laid aside the work, and I did not take it up again till some years after, at the pressing instances of Dr. Swift. In the last letter which I received from him,¹ he writes thus: "In malice I hope your law-suit will force you to come over [to Dublin] the next term, which I think is a long one, and will allow you time to finish it; in the mean time I wish I could hear of the progress and finishing of another affair [the TOAST] relating to the same law-suit, but tryed in the courts above, upon a hill with two heads, where the defendants will, as infallibly and more effectually be cast," &c. And speaking of this work to a lady, his near relation, who is now living, after he had perused the greatest part of it in the manuscript, he told her "if he had read the TOAST when he was only twenty years of age, he never would have wrote a satire"' *Political & Literary Anecdotes*, 1819, pp. 97-8.

APPENDIX XXVIII

TWO DRAFTS OF SWIFT'S ORDER TO THE CHAPTER OF ST. PATRICK'S CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE VICARS CHORAL

This order, which has survived in two separate texts, neither in Swift's hand, is remarkable if the date be considered. Formerly among the papers of Mrs. King of Proby Park, Dalkey, co. Dublin, they are now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It will be noted that a witness to the

¹ Although no more from Swift to King survive, their relations continued some five years beyond the presumed date of this. In their correspondence (1736-9) relating to the publication of the *History of the Four Last Years and Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, however, Swift seems to have employed Mrs. Whiteway, Deane Swift, and Lord Orrery to write on his behalf. He addressed a letter to King in September 1741, which was delivered by Faulkner (see Faulkner's *An Appeal to the Public*, Dublin, 1758, pp. 1, 2.)

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longer and more careful draft was the Rev. James King (see iv. 411, n. 2 above, and C. S. King, *A great Archbishop of Dublin*, 1906, p. 48 n.). The first draft was reproduced by Sir Walter Scott, xix. 328-30, who was strangely under the impression that it was in Swift's autograph. His footnote is as follows: 'This curious document was copied from the original, found among the papers of the Rev. Dr. James King, one of the Dean's executors, copies of which, so far as relating to Dean Swift, were in the most obliging manner given for this work by the Rev. Robert King, prebendary of Dunlavin. The original is in the Dean's handwriting; and as it is a large copy-hand, and the paper seems to have been ruled, it seems probable, that in the weak state of his mind he might attach much consequence to the subject matter. The piece contains some flashes of his peculiar humour, although written in a state tending towards mental imbecility. The witnesses' names are written in the Dean's own hand.' It may here be noted that the hand is certainly not Swift's, that it is a large copy-hand, that the paper appears to have been ruled, and that the witnesses' names are not signatures.

The first draft:

January 28th 1741[-2]

Whereas my Infirmities of Age and ill health have prevented me, to preside in the chapters held for the good order and Government of my Cathedral church of St Patrick Dublin, in Person: I have by a Legal Commission made and appointed the very Reverend Doctor John Wynne, Praecentor of the said cathedral, to be Subdean in my stead and absence. I do hereby ratify and confirm all the Powers delegated to the said Dr Wynne in ye s^d Commission

And I do hereby require and request the very Reverend Subdean, not to permit any of the Vicars-Choral, Choiristers, or Organists to attend or assist at any publick musical Performances, without my Consent, or his Consent with the Consent of the chapter first obtained.

And whereas it hath been reported that I gave a Licence to certain Vicars to assist at a club of Fiddlers in Fishamble Street, I do hereby declare that I remember no such Licence to have been ever signed or sealed by me, and that if ever such pretended Licence shou'd be produced I do hereby annull and vacate the said Licence.

Intreating my said Subdean & chapter to punish such vicars as shall ever appear there, as Songsters, Fiddlers, Pipers, Trumpeters, Drummers, Drummajors or in any Sonal Quality, according to the Flagitious aggravations of their respective Disobedience, Rebellion, Perfidy & Ingratitude.

I require my said Subdean to proceed to the Extremity of Expulsion, if the said Vicars shou'd be found ungovernable, Impenitent, or self sufficient, Especially Taverner, Phipps and Church, who, (as I am informed) have in violation of my Sub-Dean's and chapters order in

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December last, at the instance of some obscure Persons unknown, presumed to sing, and Fiddle at the club above named—

My Resolution is to preserve the Dignity of my Station, and the Honour of my Chapter: and, Gentlemen, it is incumbent upon you to aid me, and to shew who, and what the Dean and chapter of saint Patricks are.

Signed by me Jonathan Swift Dean of St Patricks.

Witness Present

James King

Francis Wilson

To the very Rev^d Doctor John Wynne Subdean of the Cathedral church of saint Patrick Dublin and to the Rev^d Dignitaries and Prebendaries of the same—

The second draft:

Whereas several of the Vicars Choral have disobeyd & transgress'd some rules & ord^{rs} made by my Subdean & Chapter for regulating their behav^r & conduct: & pretend & give out that they have my licence under my hand to act contrary to the said ord^{rs} made by my Subdean & chapter, now I do hereby declare, that to the best of my remembrance I never did sign any licence to any of the said Vicars to perform at any musical society contrary to the s^d ord^{rs} nor did I ever design it. And, if I have been so far imposed upon as to sign any deed or licence to the purposes aforesd & it be produced to justify their behav^r I do hereby anull & vacate the same. And hope & desire that my s^d Subdean & the Chapter will proceed steddyly & wth vigour against all infringers of their rules & ord^{rs} and the Statutes made for the governing of the Choir, according to the antient Laws & Customs of the s^d Chapter.

And I do farther intreat My sd Subdean & the chapter that^t they will keep up the hon^r & dignity of the chapter, and not let it suffer in its rights or priviledges by the encroachm^{ts} of any persons nor by the neglects, disobedience, or perfidy of those who are subject to it—Given under my hand & seal the 28th day of Jan^{ry} 1741 present—

¹ On the opposite page of this draft the words 'The infirmities of age disabling me to attend personally and take that care w^{ch} I have much at heart' are written and marked for entry at this point.

APPENDIX XXIX

SWIFT AND THE ACHESONS

The following anecdotes, which were related to Bishop Percy by Sir Arthur Acheson's son, the first Viscount Gosford, shortly before his death in the year 1790, are preserved in Percy's autograph in the Egerton MSS. (No. 201, ff. 91, 92) in the British Museum:

Lord Gosford when a student at Trinity College in Dublin, used sometimes to call on the Dean of St. Patrick's, who would ask him questions about the conduct of his studies and expressed great friendship to him. One day that the Dean called at his father's house in Dublin, the young gentleman came in, not in his student's habit, but in boots, and some kind of undress which the Dean thought a little out of character; on which he affected not to know him, and afterwards when some of the family entering addressed him by name the Dean expressed great surprise, and told him he took him for the steward's son or clerk out of the country, a rebuke which made the young gentleman afterwards a little more attentive to propriety in his external appearance.

Lady Acheson's mother had a house in the country beyond Clontarf¹ whither Dean Swift often rode to visit her, and as he was a great humourist, if he meant to dine there he always insisted on bringing some part of the provisions with him for his dinner. One day that he had brought a lobster he inquired at table if any servant present knew how to break the claws, on which a young servant that waited on Mr. Acheson in College pertly offered his service, and the Dean gave him the lobster's claws to break. When he returned with them, the Dean asked how he had broke them, and he answered by putting them between the hinges of the door; on which the Dean flew into a violent passion, and snatched up a whip with which he gave the young man some stripes, and he was so much displeased that he did not recover his temper the whole evening.

When Dean Swift was at Sir Arthur Acheson's house in the country he was indulged in the liberty of following his own humour in everything, so that he sometimes would not come down to dinner till it was half over. It happened one day that Sir Arthur had invited the late Lord Charlemont² and a great deal of company to dine with him when he requested the Dean would be so obliging as to come down early, and not make the company wait. The Dean promised, but dinner was ready before the Dean appeared; so that after waiting a little they all sat down, leaving

¹ i.e. The Grange, which is situated to the north of the district in Dublin known as Clontarf.

² The father of the first Earl of Charlemont.

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a vacant place at table. After some time the Dean entered, and walking round the table, took his seat. Then addressing himself to Lord Charlemont he said, 'My Lord, I have not seen you of some years, the last time I saw your Lordship you were in the Round House in London.' This strange salutation before so much company very much surprised and disconcerted Lord Charlemont, who was a remarkably modest man, which the Dean observing immediately added, 'But my Lord, the occasion of your going there did you great honour; you had resented an insult offered to your father, and though you caned the person that offered it within the verge of the Court, Queen Anne was much pleased with your conduct, and openly justified and excused the breach of privilege.'¹ It seems his Lordship was an officer in the Guards when the incident alluded to had happened; and though at first he had been confined, he had been soon released, and the Queen had taken his part, as is above related. This explanation of the Dean's did away all embarrassment, and Lord Charlemont and he renewed their acquaintance, and during the remainder of the time they were together they passed it in the most cordial friendship, and became exceedingly fond of each other.

APPENDIX XXX

SWIFT'S FRIENDS CLASSED BY THEIR CHARACTERS

Sir Walter Scott in his *Memoirs of Swift*, 1814, Appendix VIII, p. xcvi, prints a list² in which Swift has classed his friends as ungrateful, grateful, indifferent, and doubtful; but as he observes 'it cannot be doubted that for many of those degraded into the class of *ungrateful* he retained a sincere value, inconsistent with their meriting that odious epithet'.

Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. King)	<i>u.</i>	Mr. Warburton (curate at Laracor)	<i>i.</i>
Mr. Read	<i>d.g.</i>	Mr. Walls	<i>u.</i>
Captain Bernege	<i>g.</i>	Humphry May at last	<i>g.</i>
Mr. Harrison	<i>d.g.</i>	Dean of Down, Pratt	<i>u.</i>
Mr. Fiddes	<i>i.</i>	Mr. Berkeley	<i>u.</i>
L. Pr. (lord Primate Marsh)	<i>g.</i>	Mr. Steele	<i>u.</i>
Mr. Forbes	<i>u.</i>	Mr. Robert Pooley	<i>d.</i>
Mr. Barber	<i>u.</i>	Mr. Higgins	<i>u.</i>
Mr. Tooke	<i>g.</i>	John Grattan	<i>g.</i>

¹ In a note it is added that his father, who was not of a strong intellect, 'had been played upon by some person whose behaviour the son had very commendably resented'.

² The earliest source for this list is the transcript made by Dr. Lyon in a copy of Hawkesworth's *Life of Swift*, Dublin, 1755 (Forster Collection, no. 579), f. 6 v. of blank leaves bound at the beginning.

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M— M— (Mrs. Manley)	<i>g.</i>	Robert Grattan	<i>g.</i>
D. Sacheverell	<i>i.</i>	Dr. Delany	<i>i</i> partly <i>g.</i>
Mr. Trapp	<i>i.</i>	Mr. Lightburn	<i>u.</i>
Mr. Smyth	<i>i.</i>	Charles Grattan	<i>g.</i>
Dr. St— (Bishop Sterne)	<i>u.</i>	Mr. Curtis	<i>g.</i>
Mr. Stratford	<i>i.</i>	Mr. Corbet	<i>i.</i>
Mr. Ford	<i>g.</i>	Mr. Nisbit	<i>u.</i>
Mr. Pope	<i>g.</i>	Mr. James Stopford	<i>g.</i>
Mr. Gay	<i>g.</i>	Dr. Sheridan	<i>g.</i>
Dr. Parnell	<i>u.d.</i>	Queen C	<i>u.</i>
Mr. Manley (the Postmaster)	<i>u.</i>	Mr. Wood	<i>g.</i>
Dr. Raymond	<i>u.</i>	Sir —	<i>u.</i>
		Mrs. Barber	<i>g.</i>

APPENDIX XXXI

SWIFT'S DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS LIVING AND DEAD

Swift was fond of counting the distinguished persons whom he had known. In a letter to Pope of 2 Dec. 1736 (iv. 546), he says he has reckoned twenty-seven such persons who were then dead. A similar list drawn up seven years earlier was printed by Scott (*Life*, p. 359) from the holograph now in the Huntington Library (HM 14344). It was endorsed by Swift: 'Amis Vivants | et morts | Feb^r-19th. | 1728-9.¹

Men famous for their Learning, Wit or great Employments or Quality, of my Acquaintance, who are dead

Sr Wm Temple	Lord Willoug[h]by of Brook, Dean
Lord Sommers	of Windsor
E. of Halifax	Duke of Beaufort
Burnet, Bishop of Sarum	E. of Berkeley
Mr Wicherly	Anthony Henley
Mr Nich. Row	E. of Oxford Lord Treas ^r
Mr Addison	Lord Harcourt L ^d Chancell ^r
D ^r Garth	Doc ^{tr} John Friend
Sr John Vanbrug	Doctor Ratcliffe
D ^r Smalridge Bp of Bristol	M ^r Congreve
D ^r Gastril Bp of Chester	M ^r Prior
D ^r Biss, Bish ^p of Hereford	

Men of Distinction and my Friends who are yet alive. Febr. 19th. 1728-9

E. of Peterborow	Earl of Marr.
Duke of Ormonde	Lord Visc. Bolingbrok

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Lord Bathurst
E. of Burlington
L^d Masham
Will. Pulteney Esq^r
Doc^{tr} Arbuthnot
M^r Pope
M^r Gay
E. of Orkney

Lord Carteret
E. of Dartmouth
Lord Bingley dead
W^m Bromley Esq^r.
E. of Pembroke.
Lord Herbert
S^r And. Fountain

APPENDIX XXXII

SWIFT AND THE DRYDEN FAMILY

Jonathan Swift believed that he was descended from a branch of the Swift family 'ancient in *Yorkshire*' which was related to another branch of the family belonging to Canterbury of whom the 'greatest part' migrated to Ireland. See Deane Swift, *Essay*, 1755, Appendix. In actual fact there was no relationship between the family of Yorkshire and that of Canterbury.

A William Swyfte of Canterbury, occupation unknown, probably born 1500–10, married Agnes Barbett, also of Canterbury, in or before 1533. He died in 1567 and she two years later. This William Swyfte is the earliest known male line ancestor of the famous Dean of St. Patrick's. Swift himself was wholly misled in the belief that he was descended from a Yorkshire family.

The eldest son of William and Agnes, Thomas, became rector of St. Andrews, Canterbury, a living which he held for forty years, dying in 1592. A son of Thomas Swyfte, named William, born in 1566, also became rector of St. Andrews, and died in 1624. Another son is described as 'of London'. Nothing more is known of him. William had at least three children, two daughters and Thomas, who became the celebrated royalist incumbent of Goodrich, Herefordshire. He died in 1658. Godwin Swift, the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, was called to the English bar in 1650, and to the Irish in 1663. He continued to live in Ireland where he died 7 Dec. 1695. Jonathan Swift, the sixth son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, also migrated to Ireland, where he was appointed Steward of the King's Inns, Dublin, on 25 Jan. 1665–6. In 1664 he married in Dublin Abigail Erick whose parentage is unknown. Two children were born of this marriage—Jane, baptized 1 May 1666, married to Joseph Fenton in 1699. She died at Farnham in 1738. JONATHAN was born at Dublin, 30 Nov. 1667. For further details concerning Swift's father see Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Notes and Queries*, cxcii. 496–8.

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Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, and John Dryden, the poet, were second cousins once removed, the poet and the dean's father being second cousins. A John Dryden is thought to have come into Northamptonshire from Cumberland. He died in 1584 having married the daughter of a Northants knight, Sir John Cope. He had a large family. Five of the elder sons were sent to Magdalen College, Oxford. Nicholas, who was probably the youngest of the sons of the first-named John Dryden, married Mary, a daughter of Thomas Emelye, lord of the manor of Helmdon. The children of Nicholas and Mary Dryden were six, including the Rev. Jonathan Dryden (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*), 1601-53, who held various livings, dying vicar of Camberwell, Surrey. His widow died in the parish of St. Sepulchre, and administration was granted to her daughter, Constance, wife of Isaac Cleve. In the *Journal to Stella*, 2 Mar. 1712-13, Swift mentions 'a City Coz, a daughter of Coz Cleve'. Further to the Dryden-Swift relationship see P. D. Mundy, *Notes and Queries*, cxcii. 347; cxciii. 470; cxcvi. 381-7. The most recent, detailed discussion will be found in I. Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, i (1962), ch. 1 and Appendixes A, B, C.

APPENDIX XXXIII

SWIFT'S TRAVELS IN IRELAND 1714-35

1714. In October Swift went to Trim, thence passing through Philipstown to Woodbrooke.

1715. In May he was at Trim, and thence went to Gaulstown and Woodbrooke and Athy, returning in June to Trim. In March he had expressed his intention of going to Connaught and half round Ireland.

1716. In February, May, October, and December he paid visits to Trim. In May he went thence to Martry and Gaulstown.

1717. The visit to Trim, which began in the previous December, extended to February. In the beginning of January he spent a few days with Ludlow at Ardsallagh. In March he went again to Trim, and thence to Clogher, Magheralin, and Loughall, and back to Trim, returning to Dublin in June. In August he was at Ardsallagh, and in December at Laracor.

1718. From 3 to 9 Jan. he was at Ardsallagh, on the 10th in Dublin, and on the 22nd at Trim. In mid February he was at Laracor. From 1 to 5 Apr. he was again at Ardsallagh, and from the 7th to the 18th at Laracor and Trim. From 2 to 19 June he was at Laracor, from 19 June to 12 July at Ardsallagh,

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from 14 to 19 July at Laracor, from 19 July to 16 Aug. at Gaulstown, from 19 to 23 Aug. at Trim, and from 23 to 28 Aug. at Ardsallagh.

1719. In May he went to Trim and Laracor and thence to Gaulstown and possibly to Thomastown.

1720. In the autumn he visited Vanessa at Celbridge for the first time.

1721. In June he went to Gaulstown and remained there until October.

1722. In April he left Dublin and spent the summer travelling in the north of Ireland, visiting during his tour Clogher, Loughgall, and Quilca, and not returning to the Deanery until October.

1723. In April he was away from Dublin, the last and first stage being Wood Park. In June he set out on his southern journey, penetrating as far as Skull, and returning to Dublin in August by Clonfert.

1724. On 1 Jan. he was at Quilca, in May at Trim and Ardracran, and in November and December 'in the country'.

1725. In April he went to Quilca and remained there until October.

1726. In the autumn he was 'much in the country'.

1728. In the spring Swift made a tour in the south-eastern counties, passing through Gorey; and in June he went to reside at Market Hill.

1729. In February he terminated his first visit to Market Hill. In June he returned thither for the second time, and remained there until October.

1730. In May he visited Trim, and in June he visited the Achesons for the third time, remaining at Market Hill till the end of September.

1731. In January he expressed his intention of wandering for a month or two in the country, and in March he mentions that he had been out of town for a fortnight. In August he was staying at Powerscourt, and in October and November he probably paid visits to friends on the north side of Dublin.

1732. In late September or early October ('on a vestry day') he was in Dunboyne.

1733. In April he visited Castlerickard, staying there from the 8th to the 11th. In May he was at Trim from the 15th to the 19th, for the Bishop's visitation. In July he stayed at Howth Castle, and from the 25th to the 28th at Belcamp. In August he paid a visit to the Grange.

1734. He was staying from 11 to 16 Nov. at Belcamp, from 21 Nov. to 4 Dec. at the Grange, and possibly afterwards at Howth Castle.

1735. In May he visited Castlerickard. On 3 Nov. he left Dublin for Cavan, travelling through Dunshaughlin, Kells, and Cross Keys, arriving 6 Nov. and remained there until early December.

APPENDIX XXXIV

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS OF T. BIRCH TO

LD. HARDWICKE (P. YORKE) B.M. Add.MSS. 35,397; 35,400

26 August 1749 [Add.MS. 35,397]

(Birch sees Faulkner in London, who gives him some Swift editions, &c.)

'I find by Faulkner, who was a great Confidant of his [Swift] for many Years, that he had no Esteem for Mr. Pope on account of the latter's jealous, peevish, avaritious & artfull Temper; & that he was particularly offended with Mr. Pope's satire upon Mr. Addison, for whose Integrity, Generosity, & other amiable Qualities, the Doctor always declar'd the highest Regard.'

28 July 1750

'Mr Lyon, an Irish Clergyman now in Town, who was very intimate with Dr. Swift, has a Copy of his *Rhapsody* much more complete than the printed one, but too licentious for publications; & a Sermon of his on the Commandment, *Thou Shalt not bear false Witness* &c. This Gentleman denies the Story of the Doctor's having been shewn for money by his Servants during his last State of Idiocy; a State, which he had long apprehended, & the Dread of which was a very severe Mortification to a Man of his pride of Heart & Understanding.'

18 August 1750

'Lord Orrery is just return'd from Ireland hither, & has taken an House in Leicester-fields for a twelvemonth. He tells me, that he is strongly press'd by Dr. Swift's Executors to deliver up his copy of the Doctor's History of the four last Years of Queen Anne, which was corrected by the Author's own Hand. They are solicitous for its publication, imagining vast Advantages from the Sale of it for the Benefit of his Hospital of Ideots & Lunatics. But in this they will infallibly be disappointed, since the performance will by no means answer the Author's Character.'

6 July 1765 [Add.MS. 35,400]

'On tuesday were put into my hands Dr. Swift's Correspondence, both the Originals & a fair Copy of them in ten Volumes 4^{to} containing above 2000 pages, 562 of which are of the Doctor's own Letters. Those of the most Intimacy & Confidence are between him and Mrs. Johnson

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(Stella), Mrs. Dingley her Friend & Companion, Lord Bolingbroke, Dr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Erasmus Lewis, Secretary to Lord Treasurer Oxford, Mr. Ford, whom the Doctor had recommended to the post of Gazetteer, & Mr. Gay. The Journal of which Deane Swift Esq. has given us a small part in his Life of his Cousin is here completed. It begins in June 1710, & ends in the same month 1713. This Collection has pass'd thro' Dr. Hawksworth's Hands, who has written a preface to it, & added some Notes, but left Queries for a vast number more, which I am supplying, & hope to leave few Obscurities in the Letters unexplain'd. The intended Editor seems greatly deficient in the Knowledge of modern History, especially of the period, to which the Collection relates, to a Degree indeed, which surprises me in one, who had publish'd an Edition of Swift's former Works, & compil'd *the Life* of that Writer. I shall proceed in my Task of adding short notes to the Correspondence with all convenient Expedition, in order that it may be committed to the press for the Entertainment (& a very considerable one it will be) of the Public next Winter.'

11 July 1765

'The Printer of Swift's Correspondence, of which three Editions are to go on at the Press at the same time, one in 4^{to} & two others in differently sized 8^{vo} is very importunate with me to furnish him with Copy, that he may dispatch the Work so as to be early out next Winter. I am sorry I am not authorized to send any part of it out of town; but inclose in another Packet my own Transcripts of some very curious Letters relating to the Quarrel between Lord Oxford & Lord Bolingbroke just before Queen Anne's Death.

27 July 1765

'I am sorry, that I have not had Leisure to make any considerable Extracts out of Dr. Swift's *Journals*, while they were in my hands, having been fully employ'd in answering the Queries referr'd to me, & furnishing materials for Notes. Dr. Hawksworth had scarce drawn up twenty, whereas I have enabled him to add between three & four hundred more. Locker Davis, the Bookseller, the chief Proprietor of the Original Letters, acknowledg'd to me, that he found the Doctor not equal to the Task of an Editor of them.'

10 August 1765

'Locker Davis, the Bookseller, sent me on Thursday some papers found among Dr. Swift's, & part of them copied from those in the Writer's own hand. Among these are Remarks on the *Tatler*; Observations on Free-Thinking; Anecdotes of Dr. Swift; Remarks of his on several Authors; Queries by him to M^r Pulteney about a Change of the Ministry in July 1727. In a Note of his on Pope's Epistle to Arbuthnot he says, that "Addison was the person meant & deserv'd it in some measure: but he & Pope were at last reconciled by my advice."'

Appendix XXXIV

21 September 1765

'The Impression of Dr. Swift's Correspondence is advanced to the 10th. Sheet, which contains his Journal written to Mrs. Johnson, beginning 9 Febr. 17 $\frac{11}{12}$. The Printer promises to prosecute the Work at the rate of four Sheets a Week; & if he keeps his Word, the Public may have the Book about February next.'

5 October 1765

'Dr. Swift's Correspondence appears now to be likely to swell in print to 100 Sheets in 4^{to}. . . .'

APPENDIX XXXV

SWIFT'S LETTER IN ANSWER TO HIS NEIGHBOURS' MESSAGE AFTER THE BETTESWORTH AFFAIR¹

When, in 1733, the infamous Richard Bettesworth, serjeant-at-law and member of the Irish Parliament, supported a bill that would commute the tithe on hemp and therefore be antithetical to the interests of the clergy, Swift attacked him in 'On the Words—Brother Protestant and Fellow Christians', rhyming his name with 'sweat's worth'. The only fitting revenge for such a rhyme, announced the Serjeant, would be to slice off Swift's ears, and, according to Sheridan, one day in January 1733-4, Bettesworth put his penknife in his pocket and went to the Deanery to accomplish his bloody purpose. Swift, however, was not at home, but out visiting his vicar, John Worrall. Bettesworth stalked Swift to Worrall's house, but there he lost his nerve, and he and Swift merely had a heated argument.²

In the *Dublin Journal* for 12 January 1733-4, George Faulkner reported that on the previous evening a number of the inhabitants of the Liberty of St. Patrick's and others in the neighbourhood visited the Deanery and sent up a paper to Swift, who was sick in bed, announcing their resolution to defend him against Bettesworth. Swift, unable to write, dictated an answer. Both papers, Faulkner announced, would be published as soon as true copies could be obtained.

¹ The editor is indebted to Mr. Barry Slepian of the University of Pennsylvania for the information in this appendix and the text of Swift's letter.

² See S. to Duke of Dorset, Jan. 1733-4, vol. iv, pp. 219-21 and p. 223 n. 1; *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. F. Elrington Ball (London, 1910-14), vol. v, p. 53, n. 1; *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Sir Harold Williams (Oxford, 1958), iii. 810.

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On 9 February 1733-4 Faulkner printed in the *Dublin Journal* the message that Swift's neighbours had sent up to him, but not the answer Swift had dictated. Instead, he gave the following hitherto unknown, reply which Swift wrote after he had recovered:

My very good Neighbours,

I Have been so long confined by Sickness, that I was not able sooner to return you my hearty Thanks in Person, as I now do for your Care and Kindness; the Continuance of which I shall always endeavour to deserve: And ever pray, that God may bless you and your Families.

APPENDIX XXXVI

LETTER OF UNKNOWN DATE TO AN UNKNOWN LADY¹

MADAM,

A FELLOW came to me to-day, who says he has the honour, which I possess, of being a servant of your Ladyship's: he tells, indeed, a very romantic story of himself; but if you think proper to recommend him as my fellow-servant, and that we set our horses together, I shall treat him as my better, because he was more immediately a vassel of your Ladyship's.

Though you were pleased to discharge me without paying me wages, (a trick Ladies often do) yet shall I always preserve the title of being your Ladyship's very obedient Servant.

J. Swift.

¹ The editor is indebted to Mr. C. J. Rawson of the University of Warwick for drawing his attention to this letter which was printed in *The European Magazine*, xxiv (1793), 340.

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